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ABSTRACT

A 3-week summer institute on the American Indian student in higher education brought together college administrators, curriculum specialists, and Indian educational leaders to mutually explore possible solutions to those problems which the Indian student confronts as obstacles to a college degree. Additional purposes of the institute were to develop in educators a sensitivity to the Indian and his culture and to establish vital communication links between representatives of educational institutions and key individuals in Indian communities. The institute consisted of lectures by program staff and guest consultants, discussions, workshops, field trips, and films to give participants knowledge of Indian life-styles. Subjects of principal concentration were student recruitment and admissions, financial aid, counseling, compensatory remedial instruction, and Native American studies. Proceedings, findings, and workshop recommendations are recorded in this institute report. (JH)

ED 060973

Educating the Educators

"The American Indian Student
in Higher Education"

St. Lawrence University

July 12-30, 1971

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TO
AMERICA'S OLDEST ALLY
THE IROQUOIS CONFEDERACY
"PEOPLE OF THE LONGHOUSE"
MOHAWKS, ONEIDAS, ONONDAGAS,
CAYUGAS, SENECA, TO WHOM WERE
LATER ADDED THE TUSCARORAS,
CONSTITUTING
THE SIX NATIONS

FOUNDED BY DEGANAWIDAH AND HIAWATHA
WHO PLANTED THE TREE OF PEACE AT ONONDAGA
(SYRACUSE) SOME TIME BEFORE THE COMING
OF COLUMBUS.

THEY EXCELLED IN STATESMANSHIP AND
THE ART OF WAR, AFTER THE WHITE MAN
CAME, DURING MORE THAN A CENTURY OF
INTERCOLONIAL STRIFE THEY LOYALLY
PROTECTED THE INFANT ENGLISH COLONIES,
SHOWED THEM THE WAY TO UNION,
AND SO HELPED TO PREPARE THE
AMERICAN PEOPLE FOR NATIONHOOD

ERECTED BY AKWESASNE MOHAWK COUNSELORS
ST. REGIS RESERVATION

The Six Nations Monument erected at the Onchiota Indian Museum by the St. Regis
Reservation Akwesasne Mohawk Counselors.

Educating the Educators



*A Report of the Institute on
"The American Indian Student
In Higher Education"*

St. Lawrence University
July 12 - 30, 1971

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been made possible through
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EDUCATING THE EDUCATORS

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Editor's Note

At the conclusion of the institute, the question arose, how should this report be compiled to best benefit the diverse target groups? Among the committee recommendations were several suggestions for informational publications. Their ultimate worth could not be denied, but the magnitude of the recommended projects was well beyond our resources and competence. In addition, serious doubts existed about the immediate value of a highly specialized venture. Such an effort may very well have provided useful information, but without an understanding and a sensitivity that would insure a receptive environment it might easily have reaped further disillusionment and disappointment.

Rather than repeat that all too characteristic theme, the report was approached with the philosophy that a common, elementary denominator would be useful. Although sensitivity is difficult to transmit in print, hopefully, effective communication will be enhanced and all concerned, Indian and administrator, will be able to visualize the larger perspective. Those involved with the Indian, the most recent of the culturally distinct groups to enter the higher educational setting, will then be better prepared to meet the needs of the Indian student and the Indian will have a full understanding of the demands to be placed upon him by the educational institution.

Hopefully, distortion has been held to a minimum in the extensive editing process. Discussions, in particular, underwent considerable rearrangement simply to ease the reader's task in organizing the information. I hope the participants find that the report remains true to the spirit and content of the institute. This report provides a great opportunity to reflect upon those three weeks and possibly to reevaluate the different presentations. I hope the participants and those new to these proceedings will carry this effort to the next stage of development.

My thanks go to the institute staff who gave much constructive advice in the preparation of the report and to Mr. John Greene of the St. Lawrence Public Relations Office whose willingness to answer unending questions never diminished.

— Roy Sandstrom

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July 12 – July 30, 1971

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INTRODUCTION

by Dr. Robert N. Wells

The impetus to organize a summer institute for college administrators and curriculum specialists focusing on the American Indian student in higher education developed out of my experiences with the St. Lawrence University student tutorial program on the St. Regis (Akwesasne) Mohawk Reservation and discussions with the St. Regis Mohawk Parents' Education Committee and our student tutors. Briefly, it was the general conclusion of the parents' committee and our tutors that presently both the Indian and college communities are poorly equipped to respond effectively to the needs of the Indian students contemplating college study.

Educational leaders in Indian communities are handicapped by a lack of information about higher education practices while colleges and universities, with few exceptions, know little about Indian life styles or the educational problems encountered by the Indian student prior to admission. As an initial step to help correct this problem, an institute involving college administrators and Indian education leaders and specialists was held at St. Lawrence University during July, 1971.

Five Areas of Concern

In planning the curriculum for the institute, five areas of mutual concern were agreed upon as subjects for principal concentration: student recruitment and admissions, financial aid, counseling, compensatory remedial instruction, and Native American studies. As the institute proceeded, however, other topics of significant interest for Indian higher education emerged from the discussions. In particular, such areas as continuing education and teacher education for Indians, programs focusing on community leadership development and programs in career guidance for college students and graduates were singled out as important educational concerns requiring future study.

Additionally, the staff of the institute hoped that the interaction between the participating college administrators and Indians in these areas of mutual interest and concern would lead to the development of a sensitivity to the Indian and his culture. Functional, enduring programs are established on a foundation of understanding which is sensitive to the problems which are uniquely Indian and to the difficulties the Indian experiences as a part of the larger society. The efficacy of any program will be largely measured by the degree of sensitivity to the Indian perspective which the educator and his institution bring to bear in their relations with the native community and specifically with the Indian student. The development of such a sensitivity and the establishment of the vital communication links between the representatives of particular educational institutions and key individuals in

several Indian communities was one of the major achievements of the institute.

Expanding the Educational Opportunities

Currently, there are approximately 8,000 Indian students attending two and four year colleges in the United States. Although this figure represents a four-fold increase over a ten year period, still only 12 percent of the total college-age Indian population enters higher education. Equally alarming is the fact that only 55 percent of the college-age group completes high school. The expansion of higher education opportunities for Indians will require a dual approach.

The first phase is the general improvement of the educational atmosphere at the secondary school level with reference to the Indian student. Discussions during the course of the institute repeatedly identified the key areas of guidance counseling, the attitudes and expectations of teachers, and curriculum as being inadequate or having a negative effect. Remedies — pre- and in-service training, curricular revision — must be implemented to alleviate the pressures on institutions of higher education to become a "middle school," something more than high school but not quite college. At a time when higher education is laboring to keep pace with society both academically and financially, compensating for the inadequacies on the secondary level is a burden that colleges, over the long term, can ill afford. It would be highly desirable from the standpoint of the Indian student and the educational institutions to attack the problem at its roots on the secondary level.

Phase two entails more diligent effort on the part of the academic institutions. College admission personnel will have to devise more sophisticated techniques to reach eligible Indian students and apprise them of available programs of study. Closer links with reservation and urban Indian communities have to be established, expanded opportunities for Indian students to visit college campuses and participate in college-bound programs need to be developed, and regional referral services for Indian students organized on a cooperative college basis should be organized. The talent search programs inaugurated in the 1960's to recruit black students could serve as a model if they were appropriately modified to conform with Indian community styles.

Until such time as there is a general upgrading of the educational program offered most Indian students during the pre-college years, it will be necessary to develop and offer compensatory or remedial programs for entering Indian students. Where possible, pre-freshman programs for Indian students which focus upon developing verbal and analytical skills, increased reading speed, and comprehension and study skills should be instituted. Pre-freshman programs, develop-

mental courses, careful academic advisement, reduced academic loads and a formal tutoring program would appear to be, on the basis of experience, the prime requisites of any academic program which seeks to improve the Indian student's chance of academic success. Since the majority of prospective Indian college students have had limited exposure or involvement in college-directed Upward Bound and ABC programs, there continues to be a need for developmental education programs for Indians at an early point in their college career.

Along with inadequate academic preparation, the problem of insufficient financial resources constitutes the most serious bar to Indian students attending institutions of higher education. Without substantial financial support most Indians cannot seriously contemplate entering or finishing college. As a group, Indian people represent this country's most disadvantaged economic minority. Despite the increase of college aid programs to Indian students by federal and state agencies and private foundations, a major burden of financial assistance still must be met by the individual college. The conference discussions on financial aid planning pointed to an inability by many Indian students to pay even admission deposits, entrance fees, college board exam fees and interviewing and travel expenses.

Information Directory

Beyond improved college financing for Indian students is a more fundamental problem of informing Indian students and Indian community leaders of the availability of funding under current programs. An urgent need is the development of a comprehensive financial aid directory to assist Indian students, parents and colleges in identifying potential sources of college financing.

Equally important is the need to erase the divisions imposed at the federal and state level which exclude certain Indian students from aid programs because of arbitrary geographic or jurisdictional grounds. Urban Indians, who now constitute approximately one-half of the Indian population, are particularly discriminated against because of either their non-reservation or non-tribal status. Until such time as increased financial aid is available to prospective Indian college students, the number entering college or completing the degree (5 percent of the entering Indian students complete a 4-year college) will not significantly increase.

A continuing concern among college administrators and counselors is the high drop-out rate among Indian students. The inability of the Indian student to adequately adjust to the college environment, not financial or academic difficulties, is the primary factor for withdrawal among Indian students. The transition from the Indian community to college is, for most Indian students, a difficult task. Colleges contemplating enrolling Indian students need to be aware of the central importance of comprehensive counseling services in the educational program of the Indian student. Prospective Indian counselors require formal training which exposes them to Indian cultural characteristics, life styles, and reoccurring educational and social problems of Indian students. Moreover, such training should serve to develop within the counselor a greater awareness of the Indian and his culture, sensitivity to his concerns and cultural conflicts, and an empathic attitude toward his problems.

Campus Ombudsman

The need for an ombudsman for Indian affairs at every college with Indian enrollment was made evident in the recommendations of the committees, particularly in the reports of the admissions and financial aids workshops. Because so many of the problems on all levels are closely linked and because smooth administrative functioning and general college adjustment are so inextricably tied to the Indian student's well-being, the presence of a person with comprehensive knowledge of the institution's practices, easy access to the key personnel, and a skill at trouble-shooting will clear the Indian's path in adapting to a largely foreign environment.

Another outgrowth of increased Indian enrollment at the college level is the desire on the part of these students to develop or expand curricular offerings pertaining to Indian language, culture and history. Among Indian students at the college level today, there is an increased sense of awareness and pride in their Indian heritage. However, few Indians have received any comprehensive training or exposure in Native American studies at the secondary school level and they look to the college to provide such exposure in the curricular offerings. A balanced offering of courses focusing on Indian culture-history, language, arts and social concerns is as essential to the academic success of the Indian student as developmental course offerings. Through such academic experiences the Indian student can gain greater confidence in his abilities and strengthen his self-concept and general cultural awareness. Equally important side benefits can be realized from such a program as there is a great need to educate the non-Indian college community about Indian attitudes, values and cultural characteristics.

Encouraging Further Efforts

A major goal of this conference was to bring together college administrators and concerned Indians to mutually explore possible solutions to those problems which the Indian student confronts as obstacles in his path toward a college degree. What follows in this report are the proceedings, findings and workshop recommendations of the institute. They constitute only a beginning in the effort to improve the educational opportunities for the Indian student. Hopefully, what has transpired here will encourage others to focus upon these problems, review our proposed recommendations and further refine or expand upon our work.

The institute is deeply indebted to the St. Regis Mohawk community who opened their doors to us and whose contributions to the work of the institute were invaluable. We would also like to thank the Onondaga community for the courtesies which they extended to us. Personally, I wish to express my gratitude to the program's faculty, staff and consultants for their help in the development and execution of the institute and to the participants whose ideas, opinions, questions and committee work made the institute a success.

The institute gratefully acknowledges the grant made by the Xerox Corporation which has provided the opportunity to record and disseminate the proceedings for the benefit of the American Indian community and their friends in education who share their strong concern for equal opportunity for the Indian in higher education.

Educating the Educators

An Indian high school teacher gives his opinion as to where the remedy must be applied to cure the educational ills of his people

by Lloyd Elm

It is my present concern to relate to you, possibly to educate, possibly to broaden your view, the condition of the Indian today. I know there is a tremendous need to educate, in all its forms, the young Indian people. I teach biology and I teach an Indian culture class. We get together and talk about the Indian way of life and I realize how very important it is for our European brothers, if they are going to perpetuate themselves, to adapt some of the Indian ways of living. Just living that way does not make a person an Indian. It goes much beyond that, it goes into the way that you think and the way you treat other people.

Who Needs Remedial Work?

When I looked at the small leaflet that was sent to me relative to this institute, I noted the topic for today to be remedial curriculum. I saw the possibility of suggesting remedial curriculum that might be instituted in higher education, that might get the Indian student to stay in college. I teach in a school where 22 percent of the students are Indians from the Onondaga Reservation. I realize a need on the high school level for a remedial course but it is not for the Indian student, it is for the white student. I realize the problems the Indians are facing in public education today exist in the education system of the educators.

I am a part of both sides. I am part of the public education system here in New York State, but I am also an Indian. Our problems at Onondaga Reservation became apparent to me when I realized that we were experiencing a dropout rate that almost matched the national Indian dropout rate. The government recorded that only 42 percent of the Indian students finished high school. This

means 58 percent drop out. In Onondaga and the surrounding public schools with the poorest of education, the Indians are experiencing a dropout rate which is a little greater than 50 percent.

I realize that Indians themselves are not the problem. Their difficulties are a symptom of a problem that exists in the white society, in the white educational system. I am not sure what kind of remedial curriculum we should try to develop. Whether we should develop a remedial curriculum to teach the Indians how to go to college, or to teach the educators how to teach the Indians. The teachers who are trying to teach Indian students need a remedial course in intrinsic Indian values. Which remedial course is more important right now? Are we starting way ahead of where we are suppose to be or should we start with our own educators?

The Need for Self-Determination

As time went on, we began to realize, not just myself but many of our Indian leaders within the student body, that it was time we at least try to become self-determining. This is something that is very touchy to talk to modern day educators about because when you mention self-determination they add separatism. The people who talk about money talk about segregation. Some people, educators primarily, are unable to separate segregation from separatism and from self-determination. And these are men who are governing what is taught at Oswego, at Cortland and at Syracuse. One sat right there and said, "You cannot draw a line between segregation and separatism and self-determination." There was no line there. Whenever you



Mr. Lloyd Elm

deviate from their methods, then it is segregation.

I have a feeling that is growing stronger, that within our country there is a cancerous, sub-conscious decision never to allow the minority groups to ever fully and completely succeed. That is what we are coping with. Self-determination is a trend that is contrary to modern day education.

To spur our drive for self-determination, both the students and the Onondaga Council of Chiefs had a boycott for two days in early March in order to be heard. In my mind this was morally correct, it was right to boycott because this was the only way we were going to gain the ear of the State Education Department in Albany. As a result, in the following week, Dr. Thomas Sheldon, one of the Deputy Commissioners of Education, came to the Onondaga Longhouse. We presented a proposal to him for a separate Indian school on the reservation. He asked us why, and we told him our reasons. These reasons correlated with what you in this institute are trying to do — what you overcome, what you learn about, the kind of programs you formulate, and what curriculum you build that will enable an Indian student to identify with an institution such as St. Lawrence.

The Dilemma of Paternalism

You, as educators, are confronted with a dilemma that has faced Indian people for 400 years. The Indian has had to cope with a social disease referred to as paternalism. Paternalism is a concept that developed when the Great White Father and his people came across the ocean, making claims on Indian land without asking the Indian. The white man took the Indian land and thought the Indian to be

ignorant, savage, and uncivilized, with no idea of what it is to live. Immediately, the Europeans attempted to change the Indian people.

But the very same type of paternalism exists today and this is part of the dilemma that we are caught in. We can talk in terms of paternalism and say it's not right, that it does not help to send VISTA volunteers to the reservation and have them work with the Indian students to change their attitudes and give them new values, non-Indian values, so they will be better able to cope with life. We are faced with that side of the dilemma. How far do we go? When do you go beyond helping?

I am not a sociologist, I am not a psychologist, but I have a few ideas about the effect that paternalism has on self-esteem. What is the effect that paternalism has on a person's self-concept? What effect does paternalism have on an individual's integrity?

During the year, I was asked to go and visit with some of the Onondaga students who had gone to college and dropped out, and this dilemma appeared in front of me. When the Indian student went to college, they became aware that people were guiding them and not giving them a choice of what they wanted to do. Educators were saying, "This is best for you, you come to this school and you take this course because it will help you to cope with the white society. It will allow you to assimilate into the white society." The Indian student does not want to hear this, he wants to make his own decisions.

There was one Indian student who had dropped out of a college. Even with all of the preparation and paperwork

that it takes to get an Indian student into college, this student had done nothing for himself. The guidance counselors did everything. They wrote the letters of recommendation, or got other people to write them. He was shipped off to college and the money was waiting there for him, as was his academic program. He was told this is the program that you will follow, and these are the courses you will take. What effect did that have? What effect on that individual's self-concept, his self-esteem? What effect did that paternalism have on his integrity, or feeling that he is going to fulfill himself? What effect did it have on his concept of self-determination? That is one-half of the dilemma. The other half of it is this: If you do not offer help to the Indians, do not ask them if they want it, what is to happen to them? It is very simple. They are going to be unable to cope with society.

Teachers Are Product of Their Education

So, this is the dilemma. When does sincere help turn into paternalism? When does sincere help change into something that begins to destroy the individual as he attempts to go to college? I think that you should develop a remedial curriculum for all higher education educators that are going to be working with Indian students. Teachers are only a product of their education. If you look at their education, you find that they have no idea of how a young Indian student of 13 years is going to leave a reservation in the sixth grade and move into a dominant society where he is in a minority. The teacher has no idea of the values that are going to dictate his integration. Teachers have no idea of the intrinsic values of the Indian culture, the Indian way of life. As a result, how can we expect the teacher to cope with and to educate that young Indian?

The problems of the Indian people on the reservation at Akwesasne, similarly Akron or Gowanda where the other Six Nations people live, are not the Indian's problems. The difficulties the Indian experiences are a symptom of the lack of education in the educators themselves. It is not the educators fault, they are caught in the overall education system that prepares the educators. Some teachers are very lucky that they have the type of personality that can communicate with a young Indian who is integrating into his dominant society. Some are lucky, but most of them are not.

At Lafayette this year we had a new teacher, a lady teacher, a fine, educated individual. But she was unable to communicate with the Indian students because she did not know that when you ask an Indian student a question, if he does not know the answer, he will not try to bluff you. He is not going to say anything. She interpreted this behavior as aggressive. It was merely behavior that this Indian had learned in his culture on the reservation. If he does not know the answer to a question he will not try to bluff. He might sit there and smile a little bit, but he will not say anything. That individual was stereotyped as a behavioral problem.

Special Teacher Education

At the beginning of this year at Lafayette we are going to have a one-day workshop that is going to be conducted totally by Indian personnel from the Onondaga Reservation for all the teachers that are there, especially the new teachers. We are going to have a workshop where we are going to relate to them some of the basic behavior patterns they will be confronted with that none of their school books have taught them, that none of the movies they saw when they were taking their sociology course have taught them. We might destroy a lot of misconceptions. When I periodically get to teachers colleges and try to convey to future teachers some of the Indian problems of today, their ignorance of basic Indian values amazes me. How can a person at this time of civilization be so totally ignorant, and be so totally mislead about what the Indian is today?

Where to Start

How do you keep Indian students in college, when we should be talking about how do you educate the educators so that they can understand the Indian values today? How can you teach a teacher so that she can teach an Indian student? When you solve that problem, this symptom that we are talking about will be solved. You might start with your individual school on the high school level, as we at Lafayette are going to do. We are developing a program like this workshop. It will be for those teachers directly involved with Indian students. We're going to teach them the basic fundamentals of the Great Law. We are going to tell them certain parts of the *Gai 'waiio*. We are going to list possibly 15 to 20 basic behavior patterns that are born in an Indian culture on a reservation.



Chief Corbett Sundown and
Chief Larry Lazore

This is just a beginning, but we are going to educate the educators. I think that is where you start.

DISCUSSION

Larry Lazore: What kind of resistance, if any, are you getting at Lafayette?

Elm: At the present time we are getting complete cooperation from Lafayette, Albany and Washington, D.C. This cooperative attitude began after the boycott. I think the boycott was essential to make them realize that we are serious.

Lazore: These government officials are so used to the Indian coming up and knocking on the door and then walking away when he gets it slammed in his face. But we are starting to lean now. We have got to. We need non-Indian people who are sincerely interested in helping to open these doors for us. But the Indian has got to do the leg-work himself.

Elm: That is right. That is something I have learned in the past few years. If you want something done for your people you don't ask the white man to do it. You do it yourself if you want no strings attached.

I think the Indian today is changing. With all due respect to our grandfathers who would go and say, "Can we have this?" and then wait for the white man to do something, I think we must go out and do it for ourselves. Our grandfathers, out of politeness, would never ask the white man why nothing was being done. But I've assimilated a little bit. When I go to someone and he says he'll take care of it, I'm going to ask him the following week, "You said yes, what's going on?" That's the difference with the Indian today. But it is essential to perpetuate the Indian way of life.

Chris Tibbits: If someone wanted to revise the teacher training curriculum in the teacher education department at their institution, is there a committee of Indians or interested Indian individuals that could be contacted to provide the necessary inputs into such training programs as you have suggested?

Elm: At the Onondaga Reservation we have now formed an Education Committee within the Council of Chiefs. Minerva White or Elma Patterson could also provide assistance. Some training program is needed. I'm hoping someday someone will call me and say, "You told us about the possibility of having a workshop for rebuilding our curriculums so that we can educate our educators." And when they call me, I'm going to be there.

At Oswego, for example, they are admitting students into special programs. Indians such as Leo Nolan could be employed by these schools to act as counselors to the educators. This might be the first step.

Robert Simpson: You mentioned that you believed a conspiracy existed which was preventing the success of minority groups. What do you mean by success?

Elm: When a group is allowed to self-determine themselves,

that is the quickest way to succeed right now. When you are talking about an individual that's different. I referred to this subconscious conspiracy once before and a person stopped me and said, "It isn't subconscious, it's conscious."

As far as success in a group's efforts for self-determination, I know of only one group who has accomplished this — the White Mountain Apaches. They have social and educational intercourse with the white culture but as far as the determination of what they are going to teach and how they are going to live, they are doing that themselves.

Tibbits: If, as you say, there is a conspiracy to prevent self-determination among minority groups, would this not provide an incentive for all minority groups to unite and expose those in the power structure who are behind this conspiracy?

Elm: There are movements like that now. The National Congress of American Indians was mentioned earlier. There has also been a unity meeting that moves across the country during the last several summers.

Yvonne Robinson: I think when Chris asked the question about all minority groups joining together she was referring not only to Indians but to all the other minorities across the country as well. But what Mr. Elm just said is very important. The first thing you have to do is take care of home.

Minerva White: I am very interested in the establishment of Indian schools on the reservation just as you are. Do you think it is possible?

Elm: Yes. I personally think that we are on our way to having a high school.

I am a product of an all-Indian high school. I went to a BIA school and almost killed myself assimilating there. But I survived that assimilation process. However, I know that the integrity and pride that I had developed in that high school allowed me to face the biases that I found in the white society much better than if I had been forced to integrate at the age of 13 or 14. By the time I was 18 I had identified myself, even if that identification was not totally accurate at that point, and I had dignity and pride and I was able to cope with the small conflicts that seemed to tear other Indians apart.

Fred Burt: Would this new Indian school have an all-Indian staff initially or would this be built up slowly?

Elm: Originally, we hoped that all the teachers would be Indian. But that's changed. We want to have an equal ratio of Indian and non-Indian teachers.

I think this new Indian school can be the instrument that will bring the people back together. For the first time in my 29 years, I saw all the people come into the Longhouse. This was because the boycott concerned the education of their children. I know that, in time, even the most traditional chief on the Onondaga Reservation will sit down with the leader of the Episcopal Church and say, "We better talk about our Indian future." That day is going to come.

Dr. Robert Wells



Five

Several comprehensive studies of high quality have been made in the area of Indian education. I would commend to you the Alvin Josephey study, "The American Indian and the Bureau of Indian Affairs - 1969," the Havighurst report, "The Education of Indian Children and Youth," and the account of the Senate Special Sub-committee on Indian Education, "The Indian Education - A National Tragedy, A National Challenge."

However, the Meriam Report, "The Problem of Indian Administration," said it all in 1928. This speaks poorly for our resolve and moral commitment. The key sources of concern and failure in terms of a national education policy for the American Indian are still in existence. The later studies all recapitulate the recommendations and assessments of the Meriam report.

A Contrast in Educational Effectiveness

Indian education, despite the neglect on the part of the larger society, has not stagnated. There have been several innovations. The Rough Rock Demonstration School, founded in 1966, and the school at Ramah, founded in 1970, both on the Navajo Reservation, are two key examples of local Indian

Chronic, untended inadequacies
in the education of Indian youth
by society's institutions has forced
the Indian to develop his own
school systems.

Indictments of Indian Education

Discussion led by
Dr. Robert N. Wells

community control of bilingual and bicultural education. But these are simply two contemporary efforts among many.

Two novel school systems in terms of historical perspective and workability were obliterated as functioning educational systems in the early part of the 20th century. The Cherokee and Choctaw Nations, two of the five tribes which were removed to Oklahoma, developed very successful educational systems. They were model educational systems run by Indians, with curriculum articulated by Indians. They produced significant numbers of students who went to college. There was also a form of adult education provided for Indians by Indians. The Cherokee Nation achieved literacy rates both in their native tongue and in English of up to 90 percent. There was local control in bilingual and bicultural education which resulted in few dropouts.

These were not successful experiments, but successful school systems of seventy years duration in the case of the Cherokee. When we talk about contemporary innovations and creative ways of approaching the instruction of Indian students, we are really going back to the precursory educational programs developed by the Cherokee and Choctaw.

Seven percent of the Indian children are educated in

mission schools, one-third in federal schools of which there are federal day schools, federal boarding schools, off-reservation boarding schools, and off-reservation day schools. The remainder are educated in consolidated public school districts as we have in New York. A very small fraction, numbering less than one-half of one percent, are educated through some privately contracted situation.

One-third of all Indian children from the total school age population of one-quarter million are educated. There are differences in terms of the quality of instruction. However, there is one prevailing theme — it is not as good as the instruction given comparable white students. The Havighurst and Fuchs study reaffirmed that most Indian students are behind two or three years in terms of level of academic achievement. This was found to be true even in the school systems where they share the same classrooms and teachers as their white counterparts.

American Indians have little or no influence or control over the education of their children in schools today. Less than one out of every five teachers, in all levels of education, are Indians. The control factor is manifestly deficient in respect to supervision, participation, curriculum development and coun-



Gracemary Dunn, Lincoln White, Barbara Barnes and Michael Allen

seling. There is little interaction in parent-teacher organizations, school boards or other committees.

Five Indictments of Indian Education

There are five major indictments to be made against the practices of the educational system which has been imposed upon the American Indian.

The most damning indictment of Indian education can be made of federal schools, particularly federal boarding schools. There is an entire compendium of Indian eyewitness statements concerning the level and quality of instruction at these schools. From the early times they attempted to rob the Indian of his language, heritage, culture, and identity. They tried to remake the Indian according to the white man's way. Not only was the Indian student away from home during the school year, but in the summer he was boarded with white foster parents. If the Indian was withheld from the boarding school by his parents, the money allocated to the tribe was also withheld. Therefore, if the Indian child did not go to school, the tribe suffered the loss of its money.

The second major indictment concerns the attitude with which white educators approach Indian education. School administrators set the tone of the school system toward Indians. Often, there is an attitude of failure or inferiority associated with Indian students. Therefore, the Indian student is educated within an environment which anticipates that he is not going to do as well as his counterparts in the white society. For instance, there is a documented statement by one of the superintendents of a school system on the Navajo Reservation in Arizona which described how school officials falsified Indian records concerning achievement tests because they were so ridiculously low that no one would believe them.

However, it is of paramount importance to keep the Indian student in school for as long as possible, not necessarily for his educational benefit but because it is financially rewarding for the school district. The amount of funds granted a district under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and under the Johnson-O'Malley Act are based on the per capita head count.

Thirdly, public school education rarely includes course work which recognizes Indian history, culture or language. The contributions the American Indian has made to our civilization not only in the pre-contact period but in the post-contact period are generally ignored. This indictment has been substantiated by a report written by the American Indian Historical Society on *Textbooks and the American Indian*. The study demonstrates that most textbooks either neglect the Indian, falsify the past, or eliminate any mention of his existence. The Morris and Commager text for example, one of the best American history books, simply skims over the entire subject.

Fiscal Abuse

Inadequate funding both at the state and federal levels is the fourth major indictment to be made against the operation of Indian education. Even if there was a will to improve the curriculum, to recruit a greater number of Indian students, to include more Indians in the determination of goals for Indian schools and school districts, to deal meaningfully with the problem of two cultures achieving a higher holding power on all levels of education, it would not be possible within the funding restraints that exist today. We can talk all day about model programs and Indian participation but with the present massive underfunding it is strictly fantasy.

Improvement is impossible with present funding restraints.

Not only is there inadequate funding but, and this is the fifth major indictment, there is widescale misuse and misappropriation of funds designated for the education of disadvantaged groups and Indians.

The NAACP recently conducted a study on the misuse of Title One funds under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act which coincidentally dealt with school districts with an Indian population. Their assessment of the federal schools alone shows an appropriation of 158 million dollars a year for Indian education — about one thousand dollars per Indian student. But of this one thousand dollars 57 percent is for supervision, so only about 500 dollars goes to curriculum and instruction. In New York State we spend 1,120 dollars per public school student, all of which goes for education alone.

There is poor accountability of this funding. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act and the Johnson-O'Malley Act are particularly important to those states which are not BIA states under the federal system. Title One funds under the ESEA are specifically designated for "disadvantaged school populations". The restrictions on these funds are clear and what they can and cannot be used for is carefully enumerated. They cannot be used for generally uplifting a school district. They can be used for the benefit of an impacted group residing within that school district. The funds might be employed in a remedial education program for materials, instructors, teachers aids or tutors. The NAACP study says there is massive misuse all over the country. School superintendents and state education departments are just putting this revenue into the budget and adding it to the total revenue for the total school district.

DISCUSSION — A Case Study

Larry Lazore: Would you tell the people here what was publicly stated at the meeting in Massena regarding the funding at Salmon River, what statements were made by the school officials and what was in the NAACP report that came out.

Wells: The Deputy Commissioner of Education in the State of New York had a chance to react to the report issued by the NAACP because the *New York Times* had broken a story on the findings three days before the meeting. He categorically denied that the funds were being misused. The supervising principal of the Salmon River School District categorically denied it. But it was there.

Lazore: Two social studies teachers and nurses were employed and 19 projectors were bought with the money earmarked for "Indian education".

Wells: This was Title One funding. Salmon River was using the funds for general education, audio-visual equipment, new teachers and nurses. None of the funds were used for tutoring or other remedial work with the Indian students.

Did it ever come up in a school board meeting?

Minerva White: It was brought up but there was no follow-up on it. The state was supposed to investigate the situation.

Lincoln White: Title One program monies are appropriated on the basis of a formal application and schema for your

particular instructional program. The application is made to the State of New York. It is either approved or disapproved and beyond that point there is no supervision given to the actual program as it functions in your school district. That is where the gap is. From a state official's position he may find the program to be legitimate, but there is no on-site inspection.

Ernie Krag: The only thing left is to seek a remedy through the courts. The school district can be made to reveal where they are spending federal funds.

Lazore: This is the good, classic answer. Where does the Indian get his money to take it to court, however? This is where you fight the system.

When you ask for an itemized budget they give you a nice big list. In a 3.14 million dollar budget, one hundred and forty thousand dollars went to teacher's salaries. Income from taxes for educational purposes realized 133 thousand dollars. They don't even take in enough in taxes to pay for the teachers salaries.

John Cook: Four or five years ago, before we got involved in our school problems, there was a very detailed budget put out by the school board. As soon as we got active, it disappeared.

We never heard about Title One until it came out in the newspapers that the NAACP had made an investigation into misuse of these funds in Salmon River.

John Larsen: What do the other taxpayers of the district think?

Cook: We were shocked to find that they couldn't care less.

Lazore: If they found out that this money is earmarked for Indian education and that they would then have to pay more taxes to the school system they would resent the Indian more. If the money was used strictly for Indian education the tax rate would go way up because it costs a fortune to run that country club as it exists today. They don't want to itemize the budget because it would show that they couldn't support the school themselves.

You think that the resentment toward the Indian is not reflected in the educational system? They're living on Indian land and they don't like it. So they are not going to like the Indian children. This school district has an attitude about the Indians that you won't find as much in areas away from the reservation. These people control our school boards. If the young people can get away from this type of person they will have a chance to become real leaders.

Krag: What about the possibility of going to Massena High School as John Cook mentioned yesterday?

M. White: After you fought for representation for two years you don't want to pull your children out and send them someplace else. We still think we can do something better.

Lazore: This is a picture of the attitude in the educational system right now. This is the basic idea, this is the basic problem. It's the cause of the problems within the educational system. It's the high school environment.

Cook: I think the problem is that the State Education Department will not face up to the fact that it made a monumental administrative blunder. They got an appropriation for a new school. It's a beautiful establishment which cost 3.4 million dollars. They insist that they are going to turn out a better student in this new school system. They do not for the reasons just defined. Yet Massena is a top-rated school, one of the few that is accredited north of Syracuse. They get most of the major awards in the northern area. The state never asked us about our thinking before they built the huge complex at Fort Covington. If there had been consultation with the Massena group they would have realized that there is money in educating the Indian children. They didn't realize this. Now, the climate has changed and they have realized their mistake.

The door is now open for unlimited Indian enrollment at Massena if they want it. But the Indian students are not likely to attend because of old ties and families that prefer that they go to Salmon River.

Wells: There is a report, which is public record, that was made by the State Education Department in 1968 analyzing instruction in the Salmon River school system. It reads just like all the others in terms of drop-outs, levels of performance, instructional programs and the number of Indian teachers.

One of the problems more prevalent in years past has been the high percentage of Indian students who were tracked into the manual training arts without being given the alternative of a college preparatory program. Many Indian students who were qualified to take the academic program were counseled into the vocational curriculum. Here is where you have to work with the school's guidance counselors. They work directly with the parents, the pupils and the school. We find these people to be indispensable links in our normal recruitment and admissions pattern in college. Indian impact is vitally needed in this area in terms of making sure that the guidance people give the Indian student sound advice in career counseling which has some relationship to their life style, goals and aspirations. One of the points mentioned at the Massena meeting was that they were in the process of developing a

Ernie Benedict



sensitivity program for teachers and guidance counselors in school districts where there is a significant number of Indian students in the district. This would be an in-service program that would give these educators some insight into what the Indian is like.

The State Education Department was also talking about initiating a new model curriculum. No Indian representatives knew anything about it. I don't know where they are getting any input for this curriculum since they were unaware of the key sources for materials. I asked if they had examined Ramah, the Rough Rock demonstration project, the Institute of Indian Arts in Santa Fe or the model Cherokee school in Oklahoma. There are five or six key projects associated with experimental bicultural and bilingual education for Indian students. They did not know anything about them and what was worse, they weren't checking them out either. One person wrote down the models I mentioned.

There are two experimental language teaching programs in New York, one in Akron and the other at St. Regis. That's it! New York public school curriculum specifies one segment of the seventh grade social studies to be taught on the Iroquois.

Lincoln, is it enough to get to the children at all?

L. White: The framework is quite comprehensive. It has to be developed on the local level. The only case where I know it has been developed to any degree of effectiveness is in the Syracuse area where some Title Three funds have been applied to in-service training for the teachers. The Lafayette school did participate in it. This program, however, is in its infant stages; they have had only four or five sessions.

Wells: One small segment of the seventh grade curriculum is the only place where study of the Indian is *recommended*.

Chris Tibbits: Is there any work being done to incorporate some background in Indian culture into the state teacher training programs for elementary and secondary teachers? Or have any of the state teacher colleges included this in the curriculum on their own initiative?

Wells: We asked that question in Massena and they said no — they weren't aware that this was being done in New York State. Arizona State and Brigham Young have built up teacher training programs involving a significant amount of Indian input.

Jim Fritze: Southeastern State in Oklahoma is beginning a program in Choctaw.

Tibbits: Perhaps it would prove of greater benefit for the Indians not to wait for the state to act but to directly offer their services to the teacher training institutions as consultants to develop such a program on their own.

Larsen: At Stevens Point in Wisconsin we received a 1.5 million dollar grant in conjunction with the University of Wisconsin to teach teachers of Indian students. The program is just beginning this fall and we are certain that there are going to be many errors made at the outset. It is an attempt to help elementary and secondary teachers get to understand the problems that Indian youths have.

Lazore: What kind of faculty or staff are they going to have teach this program? Is it going to be anthropologists or is it going to be Indians that have been successful in education?

Larsen: Our school of education is headed by Terry Snowden who is not an Indian. The program was developed in liaison with the Red Cliff Reservation and the Menominee Reservation. Ada Deer, who was involved in our PRIDE program, was also involved in the formulation of the program. The traditional degree requirements that we have for our graduates will have to be revised because much of the education is going to take place on the reservation in an experimental work-study relationship. The parents, the non-formally educated people, are being used as consultants. The program is not tied strictly to the academic community. They try to get inputs from all segments of the Indian society. This is an attempt in what appears to be the right direction. There is some concern within the conservative educational community about the quality of the graduates because they are not required to meet the established degree requirements. I expect that this will be solved, however.

Lazore: This is the route to go. You have got to get the Indians themselves into teaching the teachers about Indians.

Wells: When I consider my own experience, I think of how ill-equipped I would be if I had not had the contacts with Indian people that I have had. It wouldn't make any difference how knowledgeable I was on the subject matter, I just could not be a capable instructor because I would not have a real understanding of the Indian. Probably, my students, because of my ineffectiveness, would not relate to me. I would start losing my confidence. I would feel threatened. This happens to teachers and this is where the hostility begins. That is why in-service training is so important.

Arnold Chapman: There was a position open as an Associate in Indian Education for the State of New York which was to be filled by a Native American. Basically, it involved the development of curriculum on the elementary and secondary levels for reservation schools and schools with significant Indian population around reservations and in urban areas. I thought it would be worth looking into until I read the requirements for the position. You had to have an M.A. and five years of professional experience in the field to get the appointment. There's no one who has had five years of experience in the field. You have to have a degree before an Indian can teach white people how to teach Indians. There are positions that people in the Indian villages would take but who has got the education requirements to qualify?

Wells: It is my opinion that there is not one state or private school that is equipped in terms of their Educational Opportunity Programs to work with Indian students.

Tibbits: EOP would be an ideal place for the non-reservation Indian who has trouble qualifying for earmarked scholarship funds to break into higher education. In reality, they are the "others" who are an afterthought in many of these programs after other ethnic groups.

Chapman: Oswego has about twenty tutor-counselors. They have full-time people working around the clock with these students. They have Puerto Rican, black, white and Indian counselors.

Wells: To return to the problem which Arnold raised about certification, there are many experimental projects where they



Calvin Zimmer

are attempting to come to grips with this. For instance, the Navajo Community College and the Rough Rock Demonstration Project. They have relaxed the certification procedures by accepting the premise that these people can be certified by both the school and the state. They have utilized para-professionals, Indian parents and Medicinemen.

Art Einhorn: Usually certification is based on a massive body of acquired knowledge. Maybe we've gotten to the point where the Indian leaders will have to issue certification to people who are masterful or knowledgeable about Indian people. It is implicit that non-recognition of uncertified people is suggesting that they know nothing when, in fact, they know in their own cultural world as much as we know in our specialties.

L. White: There are some loopholes in the certification procedure that can be used to advantage. We have permission, by law, to use teacher assistants. The minimal education requirements for these people are quite low. Teacher aides under the aegis of consultants can be used by any school district regardless of their background and paid through the Board of Cooperative Education Services as consultants. So you could bring in a person skilled in Mohawk culture, for instance, and he could be paid on a per diem basis for that particular service. This is one of many ways which you can use to get around the certification problem.

Tribalism, Cultural Pluralism and American Indian Identity

by Dr. Jack A. Frisch

The topic of this discussion is tribalism. A profusion of theories on tribalism have been propounded. I do not know if my concept of tribalism is considerably different from other interpretations but it can serve as a basis for discussion. Tribalism relates to several additional concepts that have received more widespread usage in anthropology in reference to various communities, both Indian and non-Indian, that anthropologists have studied.

Nativism, Revitalization and Tribalism

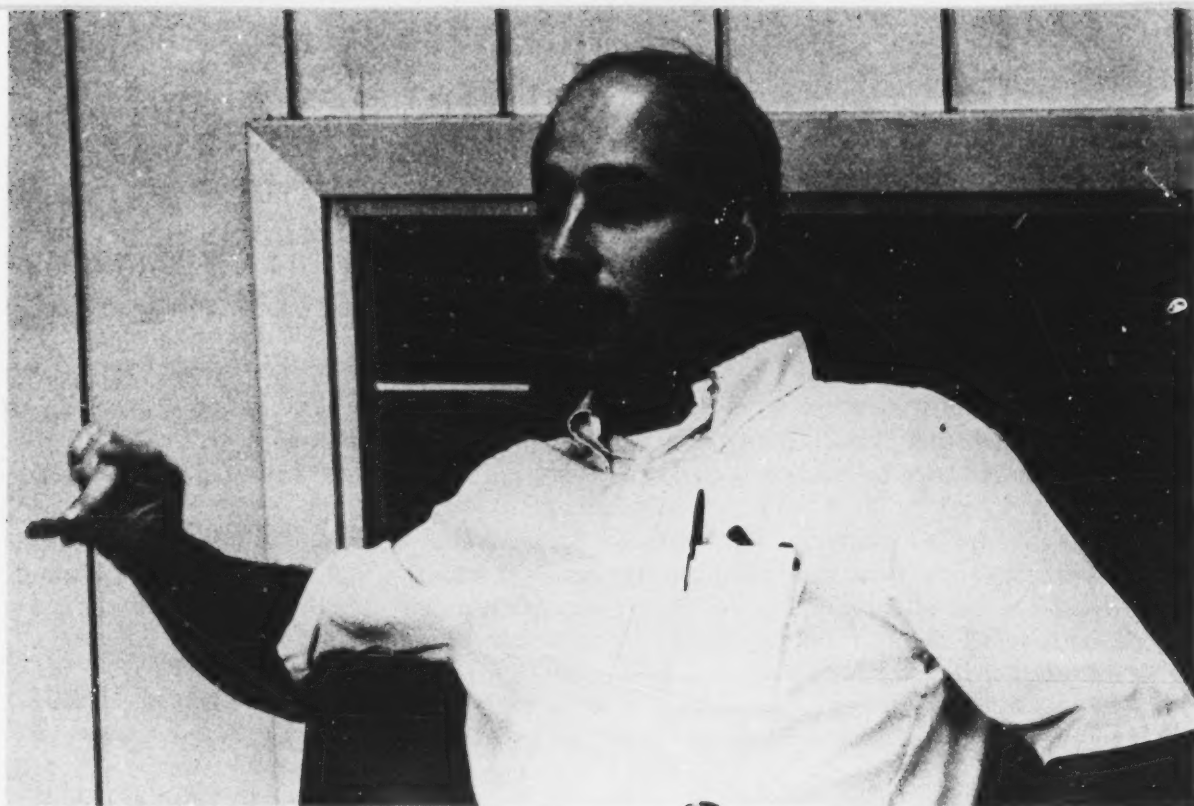
"Nativism," the first term which bears a relation to tribalism, is a concept that was applied in the 1940's by Ralph Linton, an anthropologist from Columbia University. He utilized the term nativism in analyzing certain social movements, especially socio-religious movements (some with political overtones) that were occurring or had occurred throughout the world. Essentially these movements were conscious attempts on the part of a society to revive or perpetuate selected aspects of the past. I emphasize selected aspects of the past because, in the analysis of these movements, it was quite apparent that if the old system was so good it would have never disappeared. In addition, it was recognized that certain parts of the old system were not able to operate, so only

selected aspects of it were revived. These social phenomena are known as nativistic movements.

About fifteen years later, Anthony Wallace, who is from the University of Pennsylvania and the author of *The Death and Rebirth of the Senecas*, applied the notion of "revitalization" to certain movements. Wallace described the Iroquois Confederacy, the Dekanawida Myth, the Handsome Lake Code and the Longhouse Religious Complex as revitalization movements. He applied the concept in these terms: "Revitalization is an attempt on behalf of a society to construct a more satisfying culture." That is, the society consciously set out to construct a new cultural system or part of a cultural system. Revitalization movements have usually been nativistic in their orientation, that is, they have usually drawn upon selected aspects of the past or old culture.

Several years after that, David Landy applied the concept of tribalism to what was happening among the Tuscarora Indians of western New York in their attempt to ward off the land grabs that were taking place in 1958-59 by the Niagara-Mohawk Power Company. The Tuscaroras had lacked the kind of nativistic traditions that the other Iroquois had. There had never been a Longhouse among the Tuscarora, at least the ones





Dr. Jack Frisch

that had come to New York. They did not have the ties into the Handsome Lake Code preaching circuit, which is a nativistic group. Landy stressed that the Tuscarora had suffered through an identity problem, vis-a-vis the other five Iroquois groups and others. So they made an attempt to establish their own, what he called, national identity.

Tribalism and Indian Identity

Landy has defined tribalism [*Ethnohistory* 5:250-286, 1958] as "self-identity of a group or society with a common territory, common traditions, and common values and interests." Landy does little to make explicit his definition of self-identity. Nancy Lurie, an anthropologist from Wisconsin, has defined social identity ["Culture Change" in *Introduction to Cultural Anthropology*, J.A. Clifton (ed.), Boston, Houghton Mifflin.] as "The total distinctive clustering of roles, the cultural inventory and social system experienced by a group and derived from the group's own viable historical tradition of changes through time."

What I have done is combine Lurie's definition of social identity with Landy's definition of tribalism and come up with my own conglomerate interpretation. I view tribalism as essentially the process whereby a group that has its own

common territory, its own common traditions, common values and interests, goes about establishing or maintaining its social identity vis-a-vis other groups of people. Tribalism is a process, a socio-cultural process and therefore it can be viewed as something diachronic, something temporal, something with specific historical antecedents. Tribalism, that is this process of establishing and maintaining one's identity, has become very important today among a number of American Indian groups.

Pluralism and Pan-Indianism

It now becomes important to discuss the terms "pluralism" and "pan-Indianism" in relation to tribalism. We are all familiar with the description of the U.S. as the great "melting pot". Works that have been recently written, such as Moynihan and Glazer's *Beyond the Melting Pot* and Melvin Steinfeld's book titled *Cracks in the Melting Pot*, have come to grips with the realization that we are dealing with the concept of a cultural pluralism — that it is possible for American society, if there is such a thing, to consist of many groups practicing or exhibiting their own viable form of culture, their own particular form of behavior, their own traditions and values.

In addition to tribalism and pluralism there also is

pan-Indianism. We have tried to show that there is no such thing as an Indian. There are approximately 250 different groups of people who have their own identity to which the misnomer, Indian, is applied. Some of the groups are very different from one another.

The idea of pan-Indianism or what Robert Thomas in the Nancy Lurie and Stuart Levine book, *American Indians Today*, has called the "Establishment of a New National Identity", is an attempt by various Indian groups around the United States to get together and establish an identity as Indians and as a unified minority. Now, perhaps tribalism is a more important factor than pan-Indianism because tribalism leads to more of a pluralism. The fact that each group of Indians, each tribal group, each community (even within the same tribe) has their own traditions and their own territory and their own values, helps them maintain their identity vis-a-vis even other communities of the same tribal background.

A Case Study — The St. Regis Mohawks

Tribalism becomes evident when you examine what various groups of people are doing. The people in one area have different problems and attack these problems differently than people in other areas, even in New York State. The only test case I can call upon is my analysis of tribalism as pertaining to the Mohawks. The Mohawks have their own common territory, their own traditions, their own values and interests and, in the past several years, they have made a very conscious attempt to explicitly state these conditions. They have established a strong social identity and maintained a social identity in setting themselves apart vis-a-vis the non-Indian community surrounding the Mohawks, vis-a-vis the other Indian communities with whom the Mohawks are in contact. The changes brought about by the school boycott at the St. Regis Reservation in 1968, which Minerva White will detail for you, are a good example.

The boycott grew out of a long standing, general displeasure with the administration of Indian affairs within the school district. One-third of the student population of the Salmon River District is Indian, yet, according to New York State Statutes at that time, no Indian was allowed to either be elected or vote in school district elections. Therefore, the Mohawks had no advocate on the board, no one to protect their interests and, as you might expect, they were usually given the bureaucratic run-around. In addition, there is a widespread belief on the part of the Mohawks that funds strictly earmarked for Indian education are being misused by the district. This position has been supported since then by a NAACP study on the misuse of Title I funds under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act in case histories from around the nation.

The immediate cause of the boycott was the submission of an appropriations bill to the State Legislature for construction of a new school for the "education of Indians". The Mohawks, however, had not been consulted — they only heard of the measure through a newspaper article. Furthermore, the building was to be erected in Fort Covington, 12 miles from the reservation. The Mohawks were aware of how appropriations for "the education of Indians" had been previously utilized — Salmon River High School has carpeted hallways, a lighted

football field and a planetarium — and they decided it was time the money was spent for a new reservation school. In support of this argument they noted that the original reservation school dates from 1925 and that the facilities should be more readily accessible to the Indian community than the 12 mile trip to Fort Covington.

The boycott was successful because the local school officials soon realized that they needed the state financial aid (the Indian's share exceeded the local property tax contribution) which was allotted on the basis of daily attendance. Negotiations took place and the Mohawks nominated candidates for the school board and voted in the elections even though the law had not yet been amended.

Intratribal Factionalism Overcome

Although many issues remain unresolved between the Mohawks and the school district, it has proved to the St. Regis community that concerted group action can be effective. The boycott had the effect of bringing the community together, uniting it around a common issue and attacking the problem as a common problem to all. The people realized it made no difference to which faction you belonged. Individual beliefs took on a secondary importance to the education and future of the children.

Not all of the other Iroquois groups in New York State were particularly happy over what the Mohawks had done. But the Mohawks were fairly pleased with what they had accomplished, because this is what they had set out to do. They had gone about establishing and maintaining this identity which since that time has been maintained through the same type of tactics, such as the unnamings of Hogsburg back to its original name of Akwesasne, the Mohawk term for the St. Regis Indian Community.

I view this as an expression of tribalism. To the point that it is a group that has common values, common territory, and the territory is not that of any other group in New York State. It is Mohawk territory. They have their own traditions which are different from any other Indian community in New York State. They have gone about establishing an identity based upon these local problems and local traditions.

Other communities are doing the same thing just by expressing their disagreement with what St. Regis did. The various Indian communities are beginning to pull into tribalistic behavior by saying here is what we are going to do. This does not refer to any structural setup, such as tribes and thinking of it in terms of tribes, chiefdoms, bands and structures like this. But it is a particular kind of behavior, a particular process for maintaining the identity.

Tribalism does not have to be nativistic, that is, tribalism does not have to make any concentrated attempt to revive or perpetuate selected aspects of the past culture. Tribalism does not have to be a revitalization movement; it does not have to construct a more satisfying culture. What it has to do is establish and maintain the group's identity vis-a-vis other groups, whether Indian or non-Indian. It is important in maintaining the ideal that we are living in a society that, instead of enforcing one group's dominant values, is recognizing the legitimacy of the concept of cultural pluralism and that groups can co-exist side by side.

DISCUSSION

Richard Frost: You have contrasted tribalism with pan-Indianism and, of course, there are major differences between them. But, in another sense, both of them contrast with the older concept of amalgamation or acculturation. It seems to me that pan-Indianism is still cultural pluralism. It is of a weaker nature than tribalism, but it has a potential political strength that tribalism does not. I would like some more exploration into the nature of pluralism.

Art Einhorn: Both of these concepts can be operating concurrently. Pan-Indianism is somewhat problematical in that it often is a function of a geographical factor. In many cases there can be Indian communities, where tribalism can exist, getting together in one area while in another area there can be other communities, simultaneously and independently, exhibiting pan-Indian behavior.

Frisch: They can run concurrently, however, when it comes to the nitty-gritty, when the game is played for keeps, tribalism is the overriding factor. If you look at the St. Regis reservation, disregarding the U.S.-Canadian border, you will find a great deal of factionalism on an intra-tribal basis. Of course, there is factionalism in any community, not just Indian communities, and there is often factionalism where people have the same ends in mind but the means to those ends interfere with one another. The factionalism at St. Regis is a complex mixture of political and religious factionalism. This is the community's internal problem.

However, there is also the problem of extra-tribal behavior, that is, the expression of tribalism by the Mohawks vis-a-vis non-Indians and vis-a-vis the government. I have seen major issues such as the school boycott and the land uprising weld the factions together over a common cause. Political action and social changes are brought about rather rapidly.

The Iroquois Confederacy itself is an expression of pan-Indianism because it brought together five different groups and later a sixth into a unified coalition and it established a new identity — the Iroquois Confederacy. People, however, dwell on their own tribal problems. What has to be solved are the problems in terms of each individual tribe's needs. You cannot define any Indian needs on a national basis that will universally apply to all Indian groups. Let me give you an illustration of how the two concepts, tribalism and pan-Indianism, interact.

In the fight to reclaim Blue Lake, the Taos Indians were united. If they had fallen out among themselves or been in serious disagreement, they would never have exercised the quality of tribal unity which they did and, presumably, the issue would never have materialized with respect to the decision makers in Washington. The unity of the Taos Indians, however, inspired an identification by others, particularly Indians, with the cause. In that sense, it was a pan-Indian issue.

A prominent Indian leader was once asked if he felt there would ever be a "Red Power" movement similar to that of the black population. His reply was essentially no, because of the tribal differences that have existed through time, that the causes are not really common causes. So although they can complement each other, pan-Indian behavior is largely dependent on a tribal foundation when concrete issues are at stake.

In the case of the bridge blockades at St. Regis, there was considerable national and international identification taking

place. In reality, it was a localized issue which really affected only one-third of the Canadian side of the reservation. So there can be broad identification with an issue but as far as the actual implementation of the blockade, this was almost totally on the tribalistic level.

Lyman Pierce: I disagree with you. I think you are confusing the issue in the area of tribalism and pan-Indianism in using the term identification the way you are using it. I do not think that Indians are searching for identification in the same sense that blacks are searching for identification. I have my identification. I am trying to make you realize that I need another identification in the larger society. It is a misnomer to use the term tribalism because I know what tribe I belong to. It's not a process, it's something I accept. Your definition is a process which states that I am coming back from something. I'm saying that I am what I am by virtue of who I am, so I do not have to search for my identity but I do need America to know what kind of distortion they have made of me.

Frisch: Alright, but the identity you have, or the distortion of that identity, is it Indian or is it Seneca?

Larry Lazore: Tribalism has been here before; it has never been lost. Because we come together in a common cause it does not mean we are adhering to Indian tribalism in the community. We have always been Mohawks and Lyman has always been a Seneca. I fail to see how tribalism is a new trend.

Frisch: I didn't say that. What I am saying is that now tribalism is becoming stronger.

Lazore: Is there anything stronger than the Confederacy? That's history.

Frisch: Yes, but what has happened to the Confederacy in terms of its relations with the Mohawks? What has happened since the 1888 meeting was held to readmit the Mohawks to the Confederacy?

Lazore: It did not change the Indian thinking. The only things it changed were Christianity, assimilation and all those things which civilization brought to the Indian. But the Indian himself did not change, he did not suddenly decide to build a tribalistic attitude.

Frisch: Tribalism is not built-up overnight. It is something that grows out of the history of a particular community. It is something with specific antecedents in time. There are different problems peculiar to individual communities. They may also have common interests.

Lazore: Community interest, is that tribalism?

Frisch: Community interest and the maintenance of this interest and identity could be called tribalism. It has taken a long time to get communities, different kinds of communities, to model themselves after one mold. This is breaking down now.

Pierce: This is the mainstream of American society trying to do this, anthropologists, sociologists, historians or the educational world attempting to understand the American Indian. This may be your search for identity. It's not mine.

Einhorn: I think this argument may revolve around the matter of your choice of terminology. The term tribe is value-laden to

begin with and you are redefining it. But the redefinition may obscure your point in terms of the process you are trying to describe.

Pierce: You are treating the Indian like an object. You cannot do that with the Indian or you're going to distort him every time. This distortion occurs when the white mind tries to understand the Indian. The Indian does not take a behavioristic, analytical point of view to try to find a cause or a reason. He accepts it. For you to come in and say, "this is this for this reason and this reason," is to distort in certain areas (now I'm not saying this is true in all areas) what the Indian is all about.

Ernie Krag: Has anything happened within the last five to ten years in the Indian community that needs description? Or, has nothing happened and it is just white men who think something is happening and it is merely a reflection of their own ethnocentric thinking? Evidently, Dr. Frisch's idea of what is happening or his attempt to put some kind of label on it has not been coincident with what the Indian thinks because the attempts of anthropologists to describe it are either offensive or inaccurate.

Josephine Tarrant: You are born into a tribe and that makes you part of that tribe. To me, this is tribalism. When you meet an Indian the first thing you ask is his tribe. You do not just say he's an Indian; there is no such thing. You ask to which tribe he belongs.

Frisch: In the Wadell and Watson *Urban Reader* there is an article by a woman who is relating some interviews. She labels the interviews according to the subject's data such as sex, age and so on. She encountered a number of Indians in the Chicago area who do not have any tribal identity among themselves. They do not know, and it is not very important to them, to which tribe they belong.

Tarrant: They are not very Indian if they don't care what tribe they come from.

Pierce: What she is trying to say is that you have an identity as a result of the tribe you are from. If you don't have that, you are a nobody. This identification we have is just a tribal distinction. We don't need documentation to prove who we are.

Krag: Whatever Indians think they are, then that's what they are. There is something incredibly arrogant about white people inviting Indians to tell us about themselves and then turning around and saying that's not how it is. This can't work.

Christine Tibbits: The Indian doesn't need us to sit around and tell him that he has or has not found his identity because he has become tribal or pan-Indian or whatever.

Lazore: We Mohawks know who we are. We are not unique because we had a school boycott to get our voice heard on the school board. There are other boycotts going on in other communities so that they can get their voices heard. The voice of the Indian in the boycott was for one purpose alone, a purpose you pointed out — to get their voice heard on the school board. It did not involve their Mohawk identity.

Arnold Chapman: What you call tribalism at the St. Regis reservation is, I think, community unity. Just recently we had the same problem at Caughnawaga. A similar situation to St. Regis — racism in the school, failure of the government to act

— resulted in a school boycott on our reserve, too. This is a case of community action by the same nation, for the same reasons. I don't see any tribalism.

And in relation to the Jay Treaty and border crossing rights, that affects all Indians, not just the Canadian side of the Mohawk Reservation.

Lazore: The Jay Treaty affects all Indians with respect to the integrity of the treaties they have with the governments of Canada and the United States. This is the basic point that will draw all Indians together. If the United States and Canada, too, will, once and for all, clarify the Indian status in North America, we will clear all the muddy water about the status of the treaties held by the American Indian. All Indians could say with respect to any nation and any treaty, "Okay, here's where we stand." You would call that pan-Indianism. One case concerning treaty rights settled in the Supreme Court affects all the Indians of the United States because then all states and the federal government have to abide by that decision. If there's a land grab on one reservation in violation of treaty rights, then all of a sudden a spirit of Indianness comes out in all the people, no matter what tribe, they unite together in a common feeling because they share that experience. Would this be tribalism or pan-Indianism?

Robert Simpson: Both probably. Many times a tribal issue can easily become, as you say, an issue that affects the entire Indian population of North America.

Tibbits: Pan-Indianism and the feeling of community within a given tribe that brings a personal identity, these are not mutually exclusive, they reinforce one another, and under different circumstances they function very differently.

Frisch: Isn't this what Mr. Frost brought out earlier, that they are not in opposition to one another, but the action has to start out on one level. If it isn't successful on that first level it will probably never get to be a unifying factor on the larger, pan-Indian level.

Lazore: Let me clarify this term pan-Indianism. Pan-Indians are usually a small and radical group. Their voice is not heard on the reservation by the older people. These are usually younger people who can only get their voices heard by uniting under this guise of pan-Indianism. It's not how all the Indians feel. That's why I don't think this classification of pan-Indianism is useful, just as I don't think the term tribalism is useful.

Frisch: Then how would you classify what is going on today?

Lazore: I think the young Indian today wants to strengthen his identity through knowledge of himself and can then help himself. The young people who come to college with a good educational background from their school system, know of themselves, of their culture, of their history, will have very little difficulty in adjusting to the college environment. The Indian children who go to college with no background in or knowledge of their history or culture will be the ones you will find dropping out of college. They have no feeling of strength when they go off the reservation.

I think work with this institute made up of college administrators is good. However, we have to back-track. We have to have an institute for high school administrators. It is at the high school level where the gap exists as far as the Indian



Calvin Zimmer, Joan Fagerburg and Ernie Krag

children learning about themselves is concerned.

R. Simpson: Are there any programs being started to educate the young people?

Lazore: Yes. We have a plan to institute such a program through Chief John Cook, St. Lawrence University and the library that we are building. Part of the library is going to be a cultural center. Cultural, not in the sense of Indian crafts, the Indian doesn't need that, but cultural in the sense of knowing about the Iroquois Confederacy and how the Constitution of the United States is patterned after what my people had long before the white man came to North America.

R. Simpson: But isn't that a new development in the last fifteen years?

Lazore: Chief John Cook and I had that twenty-five years ago at the St. Regis school.

R. Simpson: Why was it discontinued?

Lazore: Because Ray Fadden, the man who taught us, was stepped on by the State Education Department.

R. Simpson: But now they wouldn't dare.

Lazore: Now they wouldn't dare but this man is too old.

Krag: But something has happened. What would you call that?

Lazore: I'd call it knowledge about myself.

Krag: What would anthropologists call it?

Frisch: I labeled what Larry is talking about now as tribalism.

Pierce: I don't want to be labeled.

R. Simpson: We have got to talk to each other and we have to use words. Labels don't make me very mad. I'm willing to listen so long as I know what he means by his label.

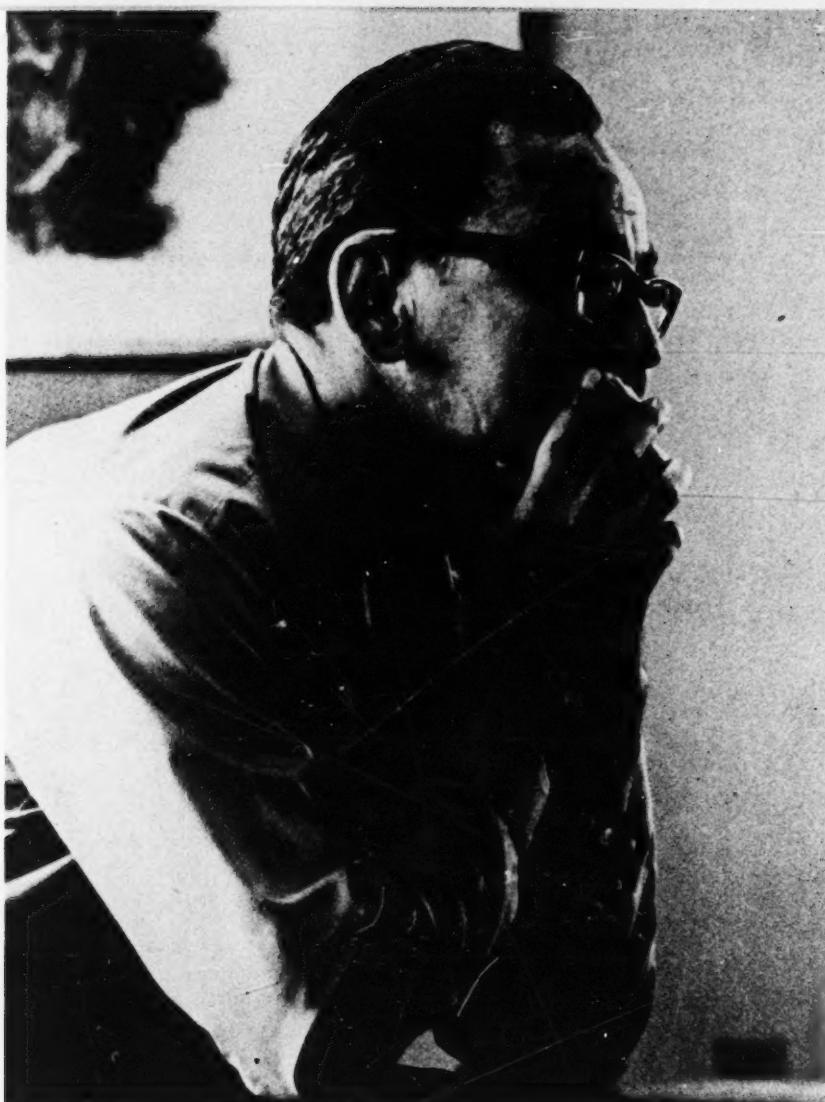
Pierce: If we need a label to do some searching with, I'd use the term ethnohistory. As we said earlier, there's a difference between what the Indian thinks he is and what the American mind thinks he is. It is the second question we are trying to straighten out, *not the first one*. In a sense we have all been

misinformed. We talk about accuracy in the intellectual community. The accuracy has never been there. It's difficult for someone in a discipline to admit he was wrong, to back up and say, "I've been going down the wrong path." I think there has been a form of polarization. I don't think the Indian community wants polarization. I think the Indian wants understanding, an understanding that follows from knowing the culture of the Indian. To date, however, there has been a total inaccuracy that has continued to propagate misinformation and myths that have been detrimental to all of us. So ethnohistory may suit you but the term isn't clearly defined.

Einhorn: Ethnohistory would be the history of a particular ethnic group. An ethnohistorian is a composite of an anthropologist who tries to understand the culture and derives some meaningful historical perspective about a particular group of people which the ordinary historian might totally misinterpret or misunderstand. Ethnohistory can be reasonably good if the researcher has good inputs into the culture. What he writes is something else again. It is usually problem oriented, so it may not be the type of history that Lyman was seeking.

Frisch: What you are advocating is the acquisition of accurate historical knowledge pertaining to a particular group of people. This is going to be viewed in terms of reeducating the children in respect to what you expect they should know.

Lazore: Coming to the college level, the Indian student is very weak compared to a non-Indian student as to his strength in the knowledge of himself, his identity. The Indian youngster has no strength, he's going to need support. You are the college people who can support him by realizing that he doesn't have these props behind him that the other students do. Once the schools realize that the Indian needs this support, they won't have so many problems with the Indian student in college. We are here to find out why the Indian student is not succeeding in college, in higher education. I hope the people here can get a feel for what the Indian student is like, what kind of student they will be working with.



Chief John Cook

We should do as we do at our tribal meetings. You talk, I'll listen, then I'll talk. It overwhelms the average Indian to hear a discussion on this level. It is not our basic concern to tear it apart. I would like to go back to the thirties and show that our economic situation had quite an affect on our children.

I imagine there were not ten people on the reservation who were making a reasonable income. There were only two or three cars, dirt roads and no electricity. During the late thirties it was the WPA that kept us alive. During the forties our men-folk started to be hired in the factories. That was the start of the economic build-up of our reservation. Most of our homes were decrepit and we still did not have running water or electricity. The war came and we went into the service where we saw a way of life that was so different from ours. We came home and some educational changes were taking place, but we could not get a job.

Economic Gains

After the war, when there were probably about 120 veterans, we began to get iron work. Our fathers were in it and they got us in. In the meantime, the reservation prospered to some degree. Those that worked at the plants built up their homes as examples for the others. Yet, in 1951 less than 50 percent of the homes had running water, and there was a battle to allow us to get electricity on the reservation.

In the fifties things started to change. I studied electronics

in night courses and came home to start a shop. The first thing I had to contend with was prejudice. Not only from non-Indians, but from my own people. Who ever heard of an Indian getting involved in such a thing, or having a place of business on the reservation? The challenge was there and I managed to get it open. I ran the business until I went broke. Prior to this we had no organized business on the reservation. This was also the first time we had installment buying there. I had to co-indorse all the paper on the business; in fact, that was what broke me.

With the construction of the St. Lawrence Seaway, we earned a lot of money and our homes got built up. Thirty to forty percent then had running water and electricity. The Seaway came along and the government condemned certain areas of the land with \$120,000 involved. There was a big argument with the life chiefs against the elected chiefs. They went to court and the elected chiefs won. But still there was no effort as a tribe to use this money for constructive purposes. Instead, the money was handed out individually. We lacked group effort.

Early Education

Back in the thirties all Indian language was prohibited in the schools. There was no reference to identity, you were beaten if you spoke a word of Indian. No one talked the Indian language outside of the home. The pride and joy of the

The Varied and Changing Nature of the Indian Community

The following discussion gives one perspective of the many facets of an awakening Indian community which is attempting to solve old problems, face new challenges and come to terms with itself and the non-Indian society. Although not indicative of all tribal groups, the pressures for involvement as 20th century society encroaches upon the private existence of the Indian is a generally shared experience among the tribes of North America.

Discussion led by Chief John Cook

parents was for the children to read and write English since most of the parents could not. During these days, punishment in the school system was brutal. We were only teenagers then, but we had a boycott. Although it was not effective, we at least voiced some of our opinions.

It was not until the coming of Ray Fadden in the forties that most of the children were taught anything about our ancient culture. He was our sole contact with Indian culture. He had schooled a bunch of us and we went out to counselor camps teaching non-Indian children about our history. He had murals and Indian crafts all over the St. Regis Reservation School. The kids were learning about our past history. But the state had a change of policy and in the face of this, more degradation. Ray Fadden, who had been teaching things like Indian lore, was ordered by the state not to. It did not help things since Ray left the system.

In 1936, I walked to Massena High School, which is about twelve miles away, the whole year. There were several other students with me because the state would not furnish us with transportation. We had attended the Bombay High School, but it was a farce. Today, we have managed to be effective. Our kids will be allowed to attend the Massena School System. I have met with Harold Segerstrom from the New York State Education Department to allow our children to attend the nearby school system which does a much better job of educating our children. They had insisted that we send our

kids to the centralized school district, the Salmon River Central School system, which does not do as good a job.

We continued through the forties and fifties to have an ever-increasing enrollment in the school system — 200, 300, 400 students. The reservation sent a request to the State Education Department to build a school. The State Education Department built the school. But it was built ten miles from the reservation. We were never consulted about the bussing that would be required for our kids. No meetings — we were just told. These things the parents accepted, nobody put up an argument and no chiefs were involved. We did not have any group effort to fight these decisions.

Prior to that time there was a reasonable organization, the P.T.A., that had a little communication with the teachers. But it did not work out since no one would answer our problems. Meanwhile, the Indian enrollment kept increasing. At that time, very few students were attending college since it was not the direction of our people. Our parents were more concerned with just learning to read and write. They did not motivate the children to go on. There was not the incentive because it was out of reach for the parents to send their kids to college. Most families would spend twenty or twenty-five years building up their homes and there was not any extra money for college. On that basis, we do not have second and third generation school teachers, doctors, lawyers or professional people.

When it came to the time of the boycott, we had kids hurt.

There was no communication with school supervisors or principals. Nothing done about the arguments. The boycott was planned by petitions drawn up by a lawyer — through a lawyer's advice we petitioned the State Education Department about what we were going to do. The first hour of the boycott there were three people. It was a lonely vigil. Prior to that we had the bus drivers agree that they would not bring the kids in to school. But it took three days for our people to get their backbone up. Finally they came. They came out in droves, we had hundreds.

We have an attitude on the reservation that is pretty well stated by all the people. You let the big heads, the chiefs, decide. It was the chiefs that decided to boycott. So if we got our heads chopped off, or if we went to jail, it was our own fault. But we did not, we won our argument, and went to court over the school board issue. Eventually, the Indian was given the legal right to vote. But it was a lawyer that showed us the course to take. Never had we taken this course before, to go to our legislators, or to go to court.

Involvement

We have only a handful that are involved in National politics, and we have a handful that are involved in school board issues. Lately we have had this eighteen year old vote with young kids involved in politics. Now they are asking questions. The State Education Department started funding high school graduates, first with \$10,000 and finally up to \$165,000 this year.

Dr. Solomon Cook, a counselor in the school system, and I were appointed to the OEO Board of Directors on the county level. We sat and listened with nothing happening in two years except the Head Start Program. We had a lawyer from New York City come and talk to us. He explained that we were not going to lose our reservation because of involvement in federal programs. The vote was still negative, OEO was turned down. We had a little chunk of money and the chiefs agreed that we were going to build this council house. The chiefs had to take the initiative in these actions. Since then we have had all kinds of OEO sponsored programs.

The library and three aides are funded through OEO. Minerva White will be the administrator of it. Operation Mainstream is funding the labor for the library.

The chiefs have to decide on these programs. If we relied on the majority opinion at a meeting, nothing would ever happen. We are too split, too factionalized. Knowing our people, one day their attitude is this way and the next day off on a tangent. I do not know if that is part of the reason for our young people's troubles. I do not know the answers completely.

The Hardest Struggle

Prior to the boycott, the thing was, "I'm an Indian." After the boycott, "I am Indian." That was the change of attitude among the kids and a lot of the older ones who got involved in education committees and various committees that we got going. Prior to that we were never too vocal, we did not use the newspapers, we did not approach lawyers or legislators, nor did we get involved in voting.

We are just breaking the ice now. But always in the background is the fear of involvement in anything non-Indian which would cause termination of the reservation. To a lot of our older people, they would prefer poverty and ignorance to



Lorraine Johnson

losing their land. The identity is more toward the land, not reading and writing. But, today, it would seem that they are in the minority. We have adopted some types of referendums, we have had major votes on our problems. Lately, the progressive way has dominated. But we still will listen to those who are against us. I believe at our last election there was proof that our people are waking up.

The hardest struggle we have is to overcome the apathy of our people.

DISCUSSION

Mary Simpson: What is the difference between your elected chiefs and your hereditary chiefs? Are all the elected ones the progressives?

Cook: There are three elected chiefs, one of which is voted every year. There are also three sub-chiefs who act in their behalf if the elected chiefs are not around. The elective system was created by New York State. In the past our people resented it because it wasn't their idea. At that time there were two sets of chiefs, the Canadian faction and the Longhouse chiefs. Now there's an intense rivalry between the two groups. The Canadian faction were the traditionalists and we were more or less the progressives. However, one of our recent chiefs sided very much with the traditionalists. In fact, I think he gave me heart trouble. You name it, he was against it. We couldn't get ahead with that type of man in.

The third year of each term you are the chairman of the tribe. It usually takes two to decide the major issues. On some issues I just grab the bull by the horns and go ahead as chairman. This is the way the older people think, we elected you to decide. Sometimes there is a conflict. We have a lot of people who say we should rule by majority. But we never have a majority of the people at our meetings to vote on these issues. All we can do is discuss them and get a consensus of opinion.

M. Simpson: Do the traditionalists have three chiefs the same as you do?

Cook: They have twelve on the Canadian side. They are condoled by Clan Mothers. When the St. Lawrence Seaway was being built and control of the money paid to the tribe was at stake, we went to court to determine who was going to be the controlling group. The elective system won, so there's no argument there. Now it's one way, but prior to that it was very loose. The only ones who kept an enrollment were the elective system because of this annuity money. You had to be enrolled to be eligible for this dollar a year. For the past three or four years the chiefs have been using this money. We got stubborn and took it for a couple of years to build a council house. We got a vote to use it and we took charge of it.

Arliss Barss: How do the chiefs get elected and how do you get a slate of nominees?

Cook: The chiefs that are in power or whoever is not going to run usually recommends someone who gets a nomination. There can be several nominees. They used to go by pictures. If you belonged to a clan such as the Wolf or the Turtle, that was the way people voted for you. For the last six years, with most being able to read, we have listed the names in English. We usually have one person there who can interpret for those who can't read. In the tribal election about two-thirds of the adults vote. The last few elections have been run like your elections. We have little posters up, we have the candidates speak at our meetings and talk about what they are going to do if they get to be chief.

Barss: How many votes did you win by?

Cook: By about one third. I think it was 150 to 100. Lawrence Lazore was just elected last June and probably by the same number of voters.

Barss: If a person is on the traditional side, are they eligible to vote for you?

Cook: They can vote if they are enrolled.

Barss: By your enrollment?

Cook: Oh yes, by our enrollment.

Barss: Then you are sanctioned by the State of New York as chief, not by the traditionalists?

Cook: Right.

Barss: Is that a big point of discussion on the reservation?

Cook: It isn't with us, it is with the traditionalists.

Wayne Barkley: In other words, any legal matter that has to do with the Indians and the state or federal government you are empowered to make the sole decision.

Cook: Right. The state through their various offices contacts us.

Chris Tibbits: Could you give us an idea of the population?

Cook: There are 1600 who reside on the reservation and there are about 2200 enrolled on the American side. That fluctuates with employment — off-season we have more. We are split by the Canadian border. There are 2900 of the same tribe on the Canadian side. Through inter-marriage it creates a lot of problems because we, from the American side, are not eligible

for any benefits or residence over there, yet the Canadians are eligible over here.

Tibbits: By whose decision are you ineligible over there?

Cook: The Canadian Government.

James Agett: You had 250 voting out of a possible 2200 people.

Cook: About 1600 people. We have 660 children in the schools and about 100 others at home. In June, during election time, there are probably about 220 ironworkers away. We have a good showing. We go to almost every house picking up people. Very few refuse. We do have 300 unenrolled people who are denied the right to vote. A lot of these are Canadian enrolled people that we allow to live on this side. They have dual rights but we don't allow them to vote.

Ernie Krag: What kind of government or administration do they have for the rest of the Mohawk Nation on the other side of the border?

Cook: They have an elective twelve-chief system. They are under the Canadian government and are funded through the Indian Act. I'd say they are more government oriented than we are. They have housing programs and every other kind of program that we don't have.

Krag: Now, you have traditionalists or Longhouse people, you have those under the auspices of the Canadian government and you have those who are under the auspices of New York State, all of whom are part of the same nation, the same people, the Mohawks.

Cook: Right. In with the traditionalists are those from the Canadian side that want to get involved with the traditionalists because, according to their logic, they have that right, they are Indians no matter where they are. They don't recognize the border. But those of us who are elected chiefs have no choice. You can't get programs funded unless you argue and get involved politically.

Tibbits: Then the term "Longhouse" is used to refer to someone who follows a certain tradition. Would someone who is Longhouse also get involved in the elective system?

Cook: Yes, they would be our political opposition.

Tibbits: Opponents of the progressives but not necessarily of the elective system. Someone from the Longhouse could also be elected.

Cook: Longhouse terminology is rather vague because we have people who think with the traditionalists politically but don't practice their religion. Ninety percent of the people are Catholic to begin with.

Al Gilbert: But can't they be Catholic and Longhouse? Isn't there a mixture?

Cook: That was one of the biggest battles of previous years. The Catholic Church stood against the traditionalists by branding them pagans. It made a lot of harsh feelings. It's very hard for those who think that way but they really don't live in the traditional manner. None of them. Everybody drives cars and watches television.

(Continued on page 32)



Minerva White

St. Regis School Boycott

by Minerva White

We have always had a segregated reservation school — the St. Regis Mohawk Indian School. There have always been problems. We would go to Albany and try to solve them but we did not always get the best results. At least we thought someone was listening to us.

In 1953, the State Education Department decided that we should integrate and become part of a centralized school district. A meeting was held on the reservation. Not everybody agreed. My father and many others were against it because they could see that the Indians would not have any kind of representation. There were two meetings and after the second meeting, when they had still not taken a vote, the Education Department just went ahead and pushed the proposal through.

School Situation Deteriorates

Our children went to school in Salmon River. Before centralization at least they had a choice of going to either the Massena or Bombay high schools. It is probably hard for whites, such as yourselves, to understand what it is like not knowing who to talk to and not having anyone who will listen when problems arise where your children go to school. We could go talk to the principal and he would listen to us and agree with us while we were there. But nothing was ever done.

We had a morale problem within the high school and we decided to do something about it. We went to see the supervising principal but he did not believe us. We went to see the district superintendent. He came to the reservation and made a visit to the school. Afterward, we had a meeting and he threatened the two people who were involved with the loss of their jobs. They remained there, however. Nothing was done.

We thought we should go to the Board of Education but we did not know who was on the board. After many phone calls, we found one woman who was on the board and who was a lawyer. We talked to her and she told us that if we had come to her earlier she would have helped us but that now it was too late. We went back home mad because we could not make any progress. And the matter was dropped.

Then other things started happening. We had a problem with one teacher manhandling some of the students. This was the turning point. We called a tribal meeting. We had the director of Indian services come from Albany. We had a large Indian turnout. Everyone was interested. We listed our grievances and asked our director of Indian services to help us. At the same meeting we told the director that we would boycott, but apparently he did not take us seriously. It was at this meeting in 1968 that we formed the first Education Committee for the St. Regis Reservation.

State Officials Inattentive

We kept writing to Albany about our grievances and we could not get anything done. Finally, after Easter vacation, we decided to keep our children home from school. This was on April 22, 1968. We boycotted and picketed the St. Regis Mohawk School. We did, however, send all of the seniors to Salmon River.

The morning of the boycott we did not know what was going to happen. I thought it might be just John Cook and I. At the meeting, the other parents said that they would be

there, but you never know. They were there. What made the boycott so successful, I think, was that Tom Cavanaugh discontinued the bus service. The parents had to drive the seniors to school. We got a great deal of publicity. We called Albany to send a representative from the State Education Department. They did not take us very seriously either. They did not send a representative until Thursday. We attempted to get the Board of Education together but could not. We had Assemblyman Glenn Harris from the 109th District come to the school and he knew absolutely nothing about us. I do not think he even knew there are Indians in New York State.

When we could not get the board to meet we decided to find a lawyer. The lawyer was at least able to get the Board of Education together so that we could meet with them. We brought this list of grievances to the meeting and they promised in writing that these points would be taken care of. The teacher in question was removed to another school. The most important thing, however, was our inability to vote in the school board elections and to have representation on the board and to generally participate in school affairs. None of us knew that Indians could not legally vote in school board elections, but it was New York State Education Law.

The same year the school district had gone to Albany and done what I call "crying Indian". They went to the capital and had special legislation passed to build a new wing on the Salmon River Central School with a big indoor-outdoor arena, planetarium and other beautiful facilities. This would have been alright with us had they attached it to the reservation school where our children could have used it. But the bill had already been passed and there was nothing we could do about it. Again we were

handicapped by our inability to legally vote in school elections and referendums. But we went anyway. We had 376 Indians go to Salmon River to vote. This was really history. It is hard to get some of the older people to vote, they just do not believe in it. But the turnout was not sufficient and we lost. We had to change the law.

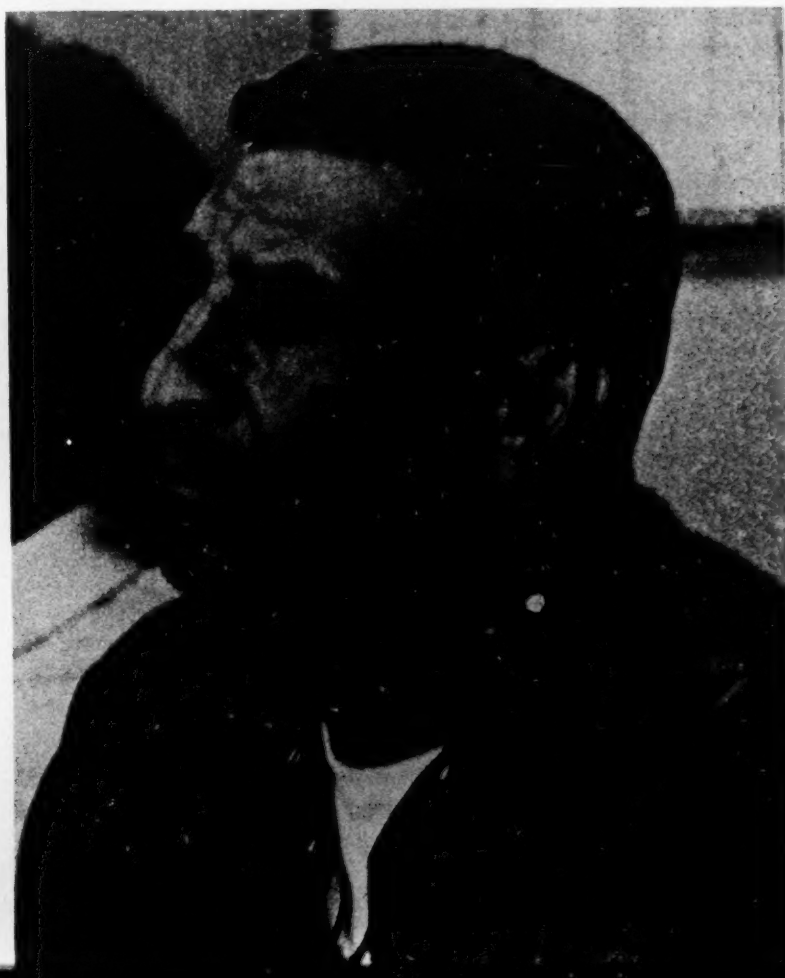
Seated on the School Board

We contacted our lawyer and he knew Assemblyman Joseph Pisanni of New York City personally. Mr. Pisanni introduced legislation that would enable us to vote in school elections and be seated on school boards. It took two years for this to be signed into law. We have two people on the Board of Education now. The board, however, was expanded to nine members so there are two Indians and seven non-Indians. To pass something favorable to Indians is difficult. But at least we have a line of communication and we know what is going on. When jobs are open we can push for the employment of Indians. So far it has worked fairly well for positions like bus driver, custodian, and cafeteria help. Now the thing to do is to get more Indians to apply so that when an opening occurs we can try to employ an Indian. Though Indians comprise over one-third of the student body we do not believe we can ask for a certain percentage of the teachers to be Indian. Because of tenure, it is difficult to make large changes in staff. We must wait for openings and then support an Indian applicant.

The boycott brought the reservation closer together since the one thing we all agree on at St. Regis is that our children should receive a good education. Some of the people do not know or are not sure how, but they do want them to go to school.

Chief Larry Lazore

"The Indian isn't fighting
for his civil rights in education,
the Indian is fighting
for his treaty rights."



Lorraine Johnson: Do you have much trouble with your traditionalists interfering with tribal decisions?

Cook: Oh yes. In previous years there have been shootings and burnings and beatings. My kids have been beaten up. I've been involved in many fights. It's very deep-rooted and very bitter. Let no one tell you it isn't.

Johnson: On my reservation, the Hopi reservation in Arizona, the traditionalists have been flaring up quite a bit lately. Recently the tribal council voted to start strip mining in the Black Mesa region which is a joint use area between the Hopi and the Navajo. The traditionalists claim that it is sacred land, a claim that the tribal council doesn't pay much attention to. The council went ahead and started the strip mining and now the traditionalists are claiming that they are the governing body of the tribe because they know where all the boundaries are and where the different sacred lands are.

Cook: We have this same problem on the St. Regis Reservation. More so because of the church's argument. Because they lost in court, there's no other way for the traditionalists to fight back except resistance. I'm not basically against them, but as it is I'm an elected chief, so I can't capitulate.

Johnson: At our reservation there are some places where they have quite a bit of backing. One of the leaders of the traditionalists has been around a lot of the country.

Cook: We have this trouble with the militant traditionalists and the Longhouse people. We have no trouble with the old Longhouse people who think the religion is the tradition. It's the group that mixes the religion with the politics. That's the militant group. By far and large they are the younger ones. They are largely agitated by non-Indians.

Arnold Chapman: I'd like to comment on the Longhouse. Before the white man came, the Indians were traditionalists. Then later, many became Christians, some by choice, some by force. Ninety percent of the Mohawks are now Christian. I think wounds can be healed. I'd certainly like to see the traditionalists and the elected people come together. But separating religion from reactions is hard. I agree that young people agitate, that some come from outside and make a little trouble. These young guys have a lot of spirit. But really, Longhouse is our religion, our politics, it's a total way of life.

Johnson: Did you have a problem with getting electricity on your reservation?

Cook: We had that hashed out in 1951. We now have electricity and telephones.

Johnson: They only got electricity out on our reservation in the last five years. They also got electricity into the villages, all except the real traditional village. They tried to put lines in there but as they were drilling the holes for the poles the people would throw trash back into the holes and rocks at the workers. They stopped the lines on the outer part of the village.

Cook: We had the same type problem. Through OEO and the State Health Department we made a survey of all the wells on the reservation. We went to every home. Those who were real traditionalists wouldn't allow us to test their water. The results proved that 50 percent of the water was polluted, unfit for

use. So eventually we got a legislative grant and drilled 50 more wells, built a bunch of toilets and built septic tanks. Meanwhile, this same group of people pleaded with the governor that we were favoring our own people. Yet they were the ones who refused to allow us to test their water for their own reasons. They were the group that needed these facilities most. They were mostly the lowest income group. Eventually we drilled wells for them too. I made them ask me for them.

Arnold Chapman: Mrs. Tarrant, could you describe a little about your situation in New York City when you were my age. I would like to hear more about what it was like living in Brooklyn, the daily life. How about the YMCA? After all, it wasn't Atlantic Avenue.

Mrs. Tarrant: There was this group of Indians living around Pacific Street in lower, downtown Brooklyn. It's a sad thing now that the Indians are moving out of the city because once they move away from their families they lose the contact of being Indian and they become very Americanized. I know of people my own age. They still talk Indian, but there's nothing to keep them together once they've gone from the community. When they were in the community it was very close-knit; all the families got together and had parties and things like that.

As you might expect, the Indians in the cities do not have the strong background as the young Indians on the reservation do. Urban Indians do not have a reservation, something to call their own. Many of the young people have no connection with any reservation, have no contact with the reservation their fathers and mothers came from. Some of the young Mohawks whose fathers were iron workers would go back to the reservation from time to time, but they did not practice any of the traditions or involve themselves in the culture. The Mohawks from Caughnawaga had a language that everyone spoke at home, but the other Indians did not have a language and still do not have to any extent. My mother was not allowed to speak her own language when she went to school. So the urban Indians must try to retain their heritage and learn about themselves from elders, literature and from each other.

One of the biggest problems was that in the city there was no place to meet. New York is not like Chicago or Denver or some other cities because it is not known as an area of Indian settlement. Indians come to the city if they are living close by or, more likely, if they are attending school in New York. We did make arrangements with the Indian Art Center. If an Indian visited the city looking for a fellow Indian to associate with, he could call the Art Center and they would provide him with my name or that of another Indian. This used to be the only way we could get together.

About ten years ago, we decided to meet and put on a few performances of Indian dances to raise money for a centrally located meeting room where Indians could gather. We did and now we rent a room at the YMCA. So we have a meeting place. It is not an Indian Center, just a place to visit with friends. In ten years, however, we have outgrown the room. It is so much smaller than we need because so many more Indians are coming into the city. But at least Indians are able to get together, regardless of their tribe, on common ground. Just talking to one another is a little difficult, but once they have danced and sung together it is easier to get acquainted.

The next project has been the creation of a scholarship



Josephine Tarrant

fund. Originally, the group had been too young and too poor to think about college. There is very little opportunity for urban Indians who have lived in the city for most of their lives to obtain grants or to receive scholarship help from reservation sources to go to or remain in college. Recently, some organizations and companies have offered scholarships to Indians provided they enter a certain field — atomic research or computers for instance. These scholarships are not often used by our people so we must really raise money by ourselves to help our own. There are Indians in the city, and on the reservation too, who do not really investigate the scholarship situation. The group gets a lot of information sent to them about help and scholarships that are available. When we travel we try to let other Indian families on the various reservations know personally what educational help is available to their children.

As a child in New York, the urban Indian has another hangup — prejudice. The prejudice in New York has gradually died away because New York is more cosmopolitan than small towns. I know, traveling through the west, seeing urban Indians who live in some of the smaller towns, it is very depressing. Because the children are growing up among this prejudice, they have gotten very belligerent and very nasty and mean. But can you blame them? It is because of the way that people treat them. I don't think it is as evident in New York State as it is as you go further west.

As a young girl I was very much teased for being an Indian. It did not stop me from being an Indian. That is why we said, "Let's be teenagers together," because it was easier being Indian together than alone. We started a club, the "Little Eagles." We always made it known that we were Indians, and people gradually became more thoughtful. They wanted to know more about Indians. For example, our problems and our culture were of interest to them as they are for you today. The city is now not half as bad as it was when I was a girl. The children growing up now live outside of the city itself and the Indians get along a lot better in school now, too. In fact, they are sort of revered. People want to know them, they want to be friends with them, more so than they did a long time ago.

I have been to schools and made speeches. The students have really been very appreciative. They wanted to know more about other Indians besides themselves. Indians out west don't know any more about eastern Indians than eastern Indians know about western Indians. That is why when I talk about Indian education I talk about it as a whole thing rather than just one part. In fact, our club right now has a Saturday Indian School. We call it Indian School. The kids don't like to hear that word, but that is exactly what it is. My brother who is a teacher tries to teach them some of the things that Indians did for the United States. The young child becomes more aware of his own self, and when he goes to school he'll come home and tell you that so and so said such and such in a certain book and it's not right. Another thing they are trying to do in the city is to get those textbooks changed. They do tell some real whoppers. If the Indian kid goes there, it is so frustrating to have them tell you these things. Then they cry when you tell them to tell the teacher the right way. They say, "Oh no, she'll give me a bad mark." So then the mother has to say, "Okay, do it the way the book says, but you know better." At least if you know he knows better you can live with it. But you know in your heart that other children are not learning the right thing, so you still do not have a clear conscience. Anyway, that is why we have this Saturday Indian School, and at least we know we are accomplishing something. We teach them some of the dances, some of the songs, just to have a background.

John Cook: How about the forbidden word — alcohol — that our people don't like to discuss?

Tarrant: Alcohol used to be a big problem in the city. In fact, a lot of our people who went back to the reservation went back because of alcohol. But for some who stayed it was a big problem. But several who went back went this road, and I think it helped them to go back. Because on most reservations you cannot get alcohol. Then they go back to their religion, to being part of a group.

Larry Lazore: For Indians who leave the reservation and relocate, this is their problem. They get very depressed about a lot of things. Then they start drinking — young people as well as the older ones. They come to the city where they have no friends, no people to talk to, no people of their own kind. That is why a community center or an Indian center is good.

Robert Simpson: Many young people seem to be turning to drugs instead of alcohol. Do you find much of this in the Indian community in the city?

Tarrant: Not so much where I am involved. But I do know some kids who come down and they have drugs, they have marijuana. We discourage it. In fact, at our Pow-Wows we don't allow drinking or smoking like that. But it is at any college these days, many of our young people are college students, and the colleges are flooded with it. You are just going to run into that sort of thing by going into higher education. I don't know about your smaller schools, but the larger city schools, especially the colleges, are full of it. I have people come down and argue with me about it, going into long discussions about how it's not harmful and all that. But an Indian, being off the reservation away from his family ties, is weak. I know on the reservation there is much respect for the elders. But once they are off the reservation there is no



The Akwesasne Library-Cultural Center, officially opened and dedicated September 25, 1971, greeted visitors as it neared completion this summer. With the help of surrounding colleges, St. Regis hopes to start adult education classes at the center in addition to the activities already slated.

"We had a crew working at the World's Fair. The men were very intelligent, but they couldn't read. They were living in Flushing where all the houses look alike. A bicycle tire was hung on the corner so that they could find their way home. We got home early one night and moved the tire to the next block. Finally, they called up asked, 'Where the hell are we, anyway?'" — John Cook

discipline, they are alone, and they are being big-shots to go along with the rest of the bunch.

Corky Strandberg: With regard to alcoholics, what do they talk about in terms of reason? You mentioned loneliness. Are there any other reasons?

Tarrant: I think the main thing is loneliness, and getting in with the wrong people. Indians from way back have not had liquor or wines like the European people have. The Indians have not had liquor to that extent and it works on them differently than other people. The white people's forefathers have been drinking whisky and wine for thousands of years; but this is one of the things that an Indian's body cannot tolerate. It gets the jump on them sooner than on other people.

Lazore: There is a little story about why the Indians cannot have any booze, if you don't mind. You take a drug, a drug that they use to hop up racehorses, and you give it to a thoroughbred and he'll go completely crazy. You take that same drug and give it to an old plug horse out in the field and it won't bother him. That is the case with the Indian. He is a thoroughbred and the white man is the old plug horse.

In all seriousness, I speak with authority about booze. I went this route. I went off the reservation. There is no question about it, even though I know quite a bit about my own people and everything, I still had the inferiority complex. With a few drinks I was Sitting Bull, Crazy Horse, and Geronimo all wrapped up into one. Unless we are knowledgeable about ourselves, we do not have that strength. These young kids leaving high school will have problems if they do not have that strength and support. I do not think an Indian when he gets drunk is any wilder than an Irishman. I don't think it is any different.

But what I would like to ask you, Mrs. Tarrant, being a second generation Indian off the reservation, have you ever had the feeling that you want to go home? I mean for good, just to sit back and be home for good?

Tarrant: I guess I would. I am on the Hopi rolls, because if you

are of two tribes, as I am, you have to choose between the two, and you are not allowed to go on both.

Mary Simpson: Who does not allow you to be on both rolls?

Tarrant: The government. I don't know why. The only real reason to go on a roll, as far as I am concerned, is just to prove that I am Indian. Because you have so many people who come around and say, "Oh, you are not Indian, you're Spanish, you're Italian, you're not Indian." I say, "Well, what do you want an Indian to look like? You want me to have red skin and feathers?" Now there are a lot of Indian clubs coming up. To get into some of these clubs you have to prove that you are an Indian. There are so many Indians — Penobscots, for instance — who no longer have any rolls. The only way they can prove they are Indian is to find out who their family is.

Barkley: Chief Cook mentioned the large numbers of men who go off the reservation to work. In the New York area the first job that is always mentioned is steelwork. Is this because the white man won't work in that job or do the Indians have some special ability?

Art Einhorn: Supposedly, there was an incident seventy or eighty years ago that lead to the immortalizing of the Indian's ability and the subsequent desire to hire Indians for ironwork. White steelworkers on a job at Caughnawaga turned around and found children and other Indians peering over their shoulder while working on twelve inch wide girders. They started hiring them because they seemed to have natural ability. There have been many theories advanced about why the Indian is so good. Some say genetic inheritance has bred out acrophobia which is really a psychological disorder. Others say he is a warrior by nature and has no fear. It's impossible to reach any firm conclusions. There are many good white steelworkers as well. But the Indian has become famous because it has become a tradition with some reservations, particularly St. Regis and Caughnawaga. But many other Indians have joined the trade now, including the Onondagas and the Senecas. It's good to them and they are good to it.

Chapman: There are good Indian ironworkers and there are good white ironworkers. Some people think there are more Indians in the union than there are whites, but that's not true. Down south you very seldom find many Indians in ironwork.

I've read these different theories about why the Indian is good. It has all been analyzed. But I'll tell you, the Indian is just as scared to go up in the air as any white man.

Krag: I didn't realize it until Chief Cook mentioned it but 220 men working off the reservation in ironwork is a considerable number of people employed away. Is that accurate?

Cook: This creates somewhat of a problem with the children growing up without a father in their daily life, five days a week. I started in ironwork in 1940. I tried factory work and didn't like it. In ironwork you are free of the responsibility of your family, but you are also making money. Employment isn't so available to us. The plants didn't use to hire so many Indians.

We had a geneticist at the reservation the other day and he is trying to determine all the scientific gobbledygook. To us the biggest single thing is that we are hungry. We have to support the children. We do go around in gangs, war parties they've been called, but that's because you are hired in a gang — usually a four man raising gang or a four man riveting gang. We save on transportation costs. Non-Indian ironworkers thought we were crazy. We would commute all over. We would go to Detroit, or Cleveland, or New York every weekend. Most ironworkers won't own-up but they are lonely for their families. Basically, we want to work at home.

We read about the myths of Indian ironworkers and we laugh about it. It's humorous to us. The whole point is we are hungry and we need the work. I'd say on the American side of the reservation there are about 176 ironworkers which is over fifty percent of the working force. Of this 176, almost all work away during the week. Occasionally there are jobs in Potsdam or Canton but they don't last on a yearly basis. It creates a problem because the boys and girls are growing up without the firm hand of the father. It creates a problem of delinquency. That's one area we have got to get into to see if we can't get some help. We have to face this whether we want to or not. But then we go back to the politics of it. Traditionalists resent industry coming to the reservation, but how else do we get the jobs so we can eat? At General Motors over half the welders are Indians who were previously ironworkers. We are grateful to be back home. We work shift work but it's given us a job. Now we can earn the money to feed and house our families. We might have to work on a house for twenty years because we can't borrow money to build a home. There's no mortgage money. When we go away we see other people with nice homes and we would like to have the same. Many of the ironworkers and those in the plants have built their homes to be comparable to any of those off the reservation.

Krag: Why isn't there any mortgage money?

Cook: In your way of life, you mortgage your land. We can't because the reservation is owned in trust. It has been proved in court that fifty-one percent of the land belongs to the tribe, with the chiefs as trustees. You can't get around that. We are negotiating now with the BIA to try and get funding for housing. Other reservations have been successful, I don't see

why we can't. Our biggest stumbling block is the people. They fear that if we mortgage our land, we will lose it. There have been instances, like the Oneidas, where this right was granted and they later lost their reservation. They weren't capable of earning enough money to pay off the mortgages. They lost their reservation and these examples are burned in the minds of the older people very vividly. They would rather live in substandard housing than make mortgage money available. The younger people have a little different attitude. They want a better way of life. It looks like today they are the majority, so it could happen very shortly.

Ken Sawers: Has there ever been a veterans group that could step in and guarantee mortgages?

Cook: After World War II there was six million dollars appropriated but it was all allocated to western tribes. We were never eligible for these monies. We were never able to get GI loans. I was talking earlier about the influence of the home on the student's life. It's very difficult for a child to have flush toilets and drinking fountains in school and then go home and have to carry water from a little hole in the ground. Often I hear children ask their folks why they can't have a home like other children.

Sister Celeste Williamson: Is there a possibility of forming cooperatives? It would be small at the beginning but at least you could begin something among your own people to establish a fund for housing with the money which accrues to the reservation.

Cook: I mentioned that we received a settlement from the Seaway. They condemned 110 acres of land and we were paid for these lands. The community spirit at that time was not strong enough. The people couldn't see us using that money in a cooperative venture. At that time we had many proposals to use that money as the basis for a loan company. But we didn't have an organized group that thought we could use the money in efforts at betterment. Since then, the only sum we have is the 2200 dollars of annuity money. Our people are beginning to realize now that we can accomplish something with a minimum amount of money. We have been exploring a program with the federal government where if we had \$10,000 matching funds, they would put \$90,000 at our disposal and we would have \$100,000 capital to start a bank. The hardest part is to get our people to understand that we are not signing away the reservation by getting involved in this and that's a political thing.

Williamson: Don't the younger ones realize the possibilities in such a program?

Cook: Well again, you have the respect for the older people. The younger ones won't argue for it openly. They might call me or stop me on the street and ask about it, but they won't argue out of respect for the older people. The older people do most of the arguing at our meetings. The grandparents on the reservation have a great influence on the lives of the younger ones. The older ones won't get actively involved, however, because as they see it, every time we get involved we lose our land. Land is very sacred to our people.

We are much more active today than we have ever been before. As a group we are much more involved in programs. The prior generations would have meetings and sit around and

air their little local gripes. Now we are involved in politics, a way of life that is new to us. For instance, Minerva becoming a school board member is something that is entirely new and it frustrates our older people. They don't quite understand the meaning of it. We have a younger generation's thinking taking over. It has gotten things into a little bit of a turmoil. We never had politics, we didn't get involved in issues. We never had active participation in the fire department or helping with the rescue squad. The tutorial program in the school — we never had the children attending the school in the evening before. It seems to be, to use Jack's term, a rebirth of tribalism. I really don't know what you should call it, but there sure is an awakening today.

Prior to the boycott, our people weren't education minded. We did have a very active education committee. The result of that has been to point more students toward higher education. Now we have about 50-60 percent of our seniors who have gone on to college. But we all had to get involved. I think our people, progressives and traditionalists, are for higher education for our young people. So there is no disagreement on that point. We are limited in time and we do seem to have a lot of problems. Hopefully, this year we will have better luck because we have a building open and administrative people who are paid to do the job.

The biggest problem will be to prevent dropouts of our children when they are in school. We have untold numbers of scholarships and grants available and the students quit. They want to go back home. If we could only motivate them, but we don't know how to do this. We are exploring every area. Hopefully, we will find the answer. But we are figuring on a dropout rate of 25 percent of our college entrants.

I would say, for a criticism of our local high school counselors, that it is a nine to five job and that's it. The agreement we reached after the boycott with the State Education Department was to have two Indian counselors, in the field, funded specifically to answer problems. But we are learning on our own, too. To that extent, we just opened our library. The two women are there, the phone is in and so a lot of those problems can now be handled on a day-to-day basis.

Lincoln White: Following the boycott, Minerva sent me a report. It was an extremely detailed and precise evaluation of the opportunities afforded the Indian children at the reservation school as compared to the Indian and white children in the central school off the reservation. The study was conducted by the State Education Department and it indicated that there was a gross difference in the educational opportunities offered to the children. Primarily, in the areas of per capita expenditures for instruction, materials, supplies, and the currency and quality of textbooks and other curriculum materials, the state found a decided inferiority in the segregated reservation school.

M. White: We received six truckloads of books after the boycott. The books we had were all outdated and there weren't enough to go around. They have also been making repairs to the facilities at the reservation school. We know now that all the money was going to Salmon River while our school was about ready to collapse. Albany is now mad because they are getting the repair bills all at once. It would not be that way if they had maintained it every year.

Larry Lazore: When this school went up to the eighth grade it was a rallying point. When anything went on there the school was crowded. Parents did have an interest in what was going on because they had a voice in the operation of the school. The minute this centralization came, the Indians completely lost any voice they did have. The parent did not believe that he could go to the school to solve a problem his children were having. There was no one there who was concerned about the Indian. Now the reservation school has been reduced to the third grade. More and more of the young people are getting bussed away. When activities took place at the reservation school all the families turned out. At an activity at the central school not more than ten families will come.

They gave us two seats on the school board. We gained something but not enough. The investigations they made of the school system found that thirteen movie projectors were bought with money that was marked for Indian education. They employed two social studies teachers, hired a nurse and built the arena with Indian education money. They had this all approved in Albany before the Indians knew anything about it.

The Indian voice still cannot reach Albany. We are concerned about this high school situation because these kids cannot make it in colleges and universities. They start college with a tenth grade education. They cannot make it in their freshman year and they get discouraged and quit. They do not have any counseling or tutoring to prop them up. You have to understand that this is the type of student you are going to get from the predominantly Indian schools run by this type of corrupt educational system. If we can come up with one solution from this institute, it will be one which will enable colleges and universities to supply special counseling and tutoring to bring Indian students up to the proper level.

The Indian does not have the background and the courses to go into universities today. Yet it is not their fault. The non-Indian children going to school with them are suffering, too. These schools think they have money to burn. What school system do you know has a planetarium, two swimming pools, an ice rink and a lighted football field? Colleges don't have these facilities. The money was supposed to be earmarked for Indian education.

By talking with Indian leaders, by finding out about their reservation and what type of school they have there, you will gain insight into each Indian. The ones that come from good schools you can cut loose because you know they are going to make it. It is the ones from corrupt schools that you have to reach out and help.

M. White: After the boycott Mr. Overfield and I became good friends. Last year we had our first Iroquois Conference at Hobart. I invited Mr. Overfield. I think that you saw or began to see Indians as people. We've worked well together since then. I feel free to pick up the phone and call you, and you are calling me. There is more communication between us.

James Overfield: My perception of the boycott at the time it was being carried out was that the Indian community was more interested in an adult level problem which they thought could be attended to through the school situation. I felt that the boys and girls in school, both Indian and non-Indian, would be needlessly hurt to a great degree.

The Indian Experience in Education

by Dr. Samuel Stanley

Higher education has traditionally been liberal arts. How you lead the good life, how you cultivate yourself, this is the definition that comes out of Western culture. Time has somewhat altered this view, and higher education is mixed to some extent with vocational preparation, and in fact, this tends to underlie the motivation that many students have in going to college. They go to college to learn how to be an engineer and it is this vocational training aspect that seems useful to people.

In spite of the problems that characterize higher education today, it is nevertheless sought by young people from all walks of life. It is a goal that is universally praised. Things like power, prestige, and success are thought to be obtainable by means of a college education. Whether that is true or not is something else, but there is some evidence that going to college increases your income level and can place you in positions of power.

American society still believes in higher education even though there is a kind of anti-intellectualism in the society, because they put a very impressive share of their resources into higher education. Indians have been totally excluded from the process of higher education up until the last ten years. You do have notable exceptions. For example, many of you know Ernie Benedict, one of the few American Indians who got a college education more than ten years ago. You will find others, but not very many.

If any of you have read Alice Marriott's book, *The Tén Grandmothers*, there is a very moving story in there about a young Kiowa woman who goes to school, gets a college education, becomes a nurse, comes back home, and promptly does nothing in the vocation because of the kind of alienation that she experienced while getting her college degree. Most people today are aware of the extent to which the American Indians have been excluded from higher education. It is sufficient to know that the answer to this problem lies in how the dominant society has defined the function of higher education, how it has defined the aspirations, and how it has defined the capabilities of the American Indian. This is a very important part of the answer.

The Indian has often been defined as the original silent American. This is a misleading appellation. He has never really been silent, but he has never had sufficient access to the channels of mass communication that his conquerors possess. This is one of the revelations that comes to an anthropologist when he establishes some rapport with the Indians in an Indian

community. As soon as Indians feel that they can talk to an anthropologist, it is my experience at least, that they speak very freely about their grievances. The unfortunate thing, however, is that this very often does not come through in the ethnographies that anthropologists produce. Today it is somewhat different. Indians really do not need anthropologists to speak for them; they are speaking for themselves, and they are being heard. Anyone who expects Indians to speak with one voice should know that there are many different Indians, and they say many different things.

The Ecumenical Movement

Let me describe briefly the Ecumenical Movement as I understand it. The Ecumenical Movement is in my view one of the most promising movements for American Indians because it seeks to transcend a very deep problem which has beset them ever since the white man landed here. This is the problem of the kind of divisiveness that can be characteristic of many communities and which in many ways seems unnecessary to people. I am speaking of religious divisiveness, that is, where you get factions based on religious beliefs. The Ecumenical Conference is an attempt to get these people to look at each other positively, rather than negatively; not to say you are non-Indian because you are a Christian, but rather, you may be a Christian, but you are also an Indian. It is often the case that comes to a real fight when one Indian might say to another one, "You are a Christian so you are not even an Indian."

The Conference was held at the Stoney Reserve in Calgary, Canada. There was good representation of traditional Indian Christian practitioners, and representatives of the Native American church, and also some from the Shaker church. The meetings were conducted out in the open where traditional religious practitioners and individuals would get up and proclaim their own bases for somehow pulling together the people who were there. Out of this emerged some interesting grounds for pulling Indian people together. The meeting was a democratic affair, anyone who wanted could speak. The sincerity of the people who attended was striking. There was a good mixture of young and old people. I would say older people predominated, but there were enough younger people to present the hope that this movement can extend beyond the lives of the people who were present. A number of people brought their families, so there was also a kind of family feed in.

There were a number of different languages represented. Many of the Cree were not able to manage enough English to follow the proceedings carefully, so many of the things that were said were translated into Cree for them. Some men felt more at home in their native language, and asked to speak in that language and arrange to have an interpreter translate what

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they said. What I am trying to point out here is that at this meeting we were witnessing what I would call grassroots leadership. The Indians were expressing themselves on the issues of what do Indians have in common, what can they do together, and how can they help one another in terms of the future?

As far as the kinds of things they have in common, they talked, for example, about the Great Spirit. There was no attempt to define Him, only the knowledge that all of them shared a Great Spirit. The notion that Mother Earth gave rise to Indians provides a kind of traditional relationship to Mother Earth whether the Indians are Christians or not. This has become a part of their definition of their own Indianness. There is an Indian way of relating to your fellow Indian. Some people got up and spoke analytically and put the burden of the Indian problem on the white man and on Christianity. This aroused a certain tension in the group which every once and a while people would get up and try to resolve. Many, however, agreed that at the root of most of their problems is what can best be described as white greed for land. They explored the notion of somehow gaining respect for their status as the original owners of what they referred to as "this island". They expressed concern about retaining what land they have and about getting land which has been taken away from them.

Maintaining an Identity

The Indians explored the problem of insuring their continuity as a people in the face of overwhelming pressures to melt into the larger society. How do you maintain yourself as a people? Some pointed out that for many Indians, education is the white man's weapon by means of which he has alienated thousands of Indians from their cultural heritage. Some of the Indians there expressed a desire not to send their children to school. They felt that the schools were for white men but not for Indians. They would rather not send their children to school even if it means they do not learn to read and write. In other words, they would rather have them take their chances and not learn how to speak English.

They also voiced objection to the white man's education because they felt that it was either ill-informed or not informed at all about the wisdom which is characteristic of every Indian people. From their point of view, the white man's education leaves a vacuum that sucks in and destroys countless numbers of Indian children. Above all, they felt that education makes fun of and scorns many sacred Indian beliefs concerning their relationship to man and nature.

It was clear that the Indians do want and do value higher education. I have often tried to solve this paradox. I do think that a part of it rests in the fact that education has traditionally been defined by the white man in his own cultural terms. This raises problems for Indians just as it would raise problems for whites if Indians defined the kind of education whites were required to take and go through; that is, without whites being able to get very much of a feed in. If you offer a man education but do not let him feed anything into it, you can not expect him to be enamored with it. Indians have had to face education for almost as long as the white man has been here. Every group of people that is living today has survived because there was a body of wisdom which they have maintained over the years.

Indians have been fairly successful in handling education so that even if it did not fully suit their purposes, at least it was not allowed to destroy them. One of the most successful adaptations was made by the Cherokee who embraced education enthusiastically. Before the Civil War they had their Cherokee seminaries and the best educational system west of the Mississippi.

Assimilating Education Through Tradition

One of the traditional chiefs of the Cherokee, Andrew Dreadfulwater, spoke at the Ecumenical Conference and said that people act as if there are three roads for the Indian. One is Christianity. The second is that of education. The Cherokee had their own system of education which was later destroyed primarily through the internecine warfare when the Civil War came along. The final *coup de grace* was when Oklahoma was opened up for settlement and the Cherokee lost most of their land and the educational system was devastated. The third element concerns medicine. This is the spiritual characteristic, and is a traditional kind of thing. This involves that kind of knowledge which is Cherokee knowledge. The Cherokee view sustained them over time. The fact that they tried Christianity did not prevent them from being removed. They had education but it did not prevent them from losing their lands. He argues that all three have to be utilized for the Cherokee to go on as a people, but of the three the one that really makes the difference is the medicine. Education without medicine is worthless, and Christianity without medicine is also worthless.

When Andrew Dreadfulwater uses the term medicine he is referring to belief, to ritual, which pre-dates any kind of contact with Europeans, which involves the kind of relationship the Cherokees have, not only with each other, but to their total environment. An example of this occurred at the Ecumenical Conference. There was a ceremony where a Cree Medicineman passes around the sacred smoking pipe and then burned sweet grass. This is a way of becoming spiritually purified. Then a Navajo came and he blessed the meeting ground. The implication of the sacred fire is that you cannot argue when that sacred fire is there. There is a tremendous restraint to come to terms with each other. It would be offensive to engage in a display of temper. This is tied in with being a people, it is tied in with rules for getting along socially. It is connected with the earth, it is even connected with people who are not your people.

Andrew would assert that the medicine is paramount. His point is that the Cherokee have assimilated education; that it is all right for a Cherokee to go get educated. He does not have to be afraid of that educational system. It is all right to go out there, but you need medicine in order to really survive that ordeal. He sees that the white people are different. What is it, he says, that makes us different? It is medicine for him.

Indians have faced formal education in a number of ways, but have not evolved any set formula for incorporating it into their traditional manner. Each Indian group should take higher education in their own way. The thing to be aware of as far as higher education goes is that it can be an alienating experience for young Indians and Indian communities. It often represents both a personal and psychological loss from the communities from which the youngsters come.



Counseling Committee members, left to right: Leo Nolan, Lyman Pierce, Matoaka Eagle, Mary Simpson, Barbara Barnes, Arnold Chapman, Betty Herrick, Bob Meshanic. Missing: Wayne Barkley, Calvin Zimmer.

Counseling Committee Recommendations

Preface

Before detailing our specific recommendations, the Committee on Counseling in Higher Education for American Indian Students would like to consider, in a brief, preliminary way, what success, values and education mean to the Indian student.

Very seldom can we equate the values the Indian attaches to these areas with that of the dominant non-Indian society. The Indian child, unlike the white child, is not forced into decision-making situations, but rather is given the opportunity to freely choose his own path. Parents of Indian students desire their children to find happiness on their own accord.

Success to the Indian, as well as his values, are not measured by material things, but rather by the state in which his mind and conscience can find peace and satisfaction with itself. The Indian views his brothers and sisters as equals from the farmer in the field to the greatest of tribal leaders.

Education to the Indian is an ever-growing concern. The Indian views education not solely from an institutionalized viewpoint but from a total life experience. Wisdom and knowledge to the Indian are not measured by the number of books on a shelf, but rather by the contributions he can make to the success of the Indian way of life. The young Indian of today is increasingly aware of the importance of higher education. However, it must be pointed out that this importance can not be equated with that placed on education by the white middle-class society. The Indian student of today desires from higher education that which can best benefit his people and his concept of self. Young Indian people today are returning to their Indian communities with the intention of sharing the benefits of their educational experience, not to

assimilate the old way of life with the new, but to utilize their new found skills with respect to the old.

Points to Remember

Following is a list of points to remember when counseling Indian students:

1. The importance the Indian student attaches to family and community ties. The respect the Indian child has for elders cannot be ignored. The loyalty the Indian maintains for the tribe and community can create conflicts when he attends college. Although all possibilities should be explored, the only solution in some cases may be to return home regardless of the length of stay intended.
2. The age of the counselor may be important. Many Indian youth desire to identify with those who have had like experience and who are relatively of the same generation.
3. His academic status most often hinges on his "Indian life experience".
4. The counselor must aid the individual Indian student in his realization of self. Although not all Indians desire to be identified as Indians, it is the duty of the counselor to reinforce the pride and confidence of those who do wish to assert their Indianness.
5. It must be made clear that we are dealing with a culturally variant individual and the individual should be treated as such. [Editor's Note: A diversity of opinion was expressed on the question: "How should the counselor view the Indian student — as a student first or as an Indian first?" The reader may make his own evaluation by referring to the exchange at the beginning of the counseling discussion.]
6. Communication for the Indian is different from that of the white society. Emphasis must be placed on the concept of

Indian time. Indians do not live by the white man's clock, but this should never be interpreted as a sign of laziness or an "I don't care" attitude.

Humor to an Indian is unique. Indians do not find humor in many of the things white people do. Never take their seeming lack of humor as a sign of disrespect.

For purposes of clarification, the committee lists below generally acknowledged goals and principles utilized in the counseling process:

1. Establishment of a line of communication and a working rapport with the student which can and should lead to a feeling of mutual respect and trust.

2. Specific problems must be identified and defined regarding their degree of importance and severity as seen through the eyes of the student.

3. Students must be made aware of the varied choices and alternatives available to them.

4. The counselor through the revelation of alternatives may aid the student in arriving at a solution.

5. With a solution there must be a follow-up encouragement and reassurance on the part of the counselor to insure student success.

6. When is the job done? When counselor and student have arrived at a mutually agreeable path which will accomplish the student's goals.

Recommendations

The following is a list of recommendations which the Committee on Counseling believes is of the utmost importance to the overall success of any Indian student.

1. Traditional counseling techniques should, for the most part, be ignored.

It was the consensus of the committee that the direct, "professional" and often stuffy approach would not be well received by the Indian student. The informal, indirect approach centered around a common interest area will enable the counselor to reach the Indian student so that positive results may be realized. Honesty will easily establish a strong and lasting bond of trust. To be successful, the counselor must be knowledgeable. But most important of all, he must be human. The stuffy professional approach is best described by the words of the Mohawk elder, Joe White: "big wind, loud thunder, no rain!"

2. Contemporary counseling principles and techniques should be expanded to include means and methods which are relevant to the Indian's life style.

The counselor must take the Indian student where he finds him and relate to him in his present state of reality. The counselor must join hands and proceed in the direction the student desires after they have explored all the possible alternatives.

It has generally been acknowledged that one does not push an Indian student. Some have said it is better to lead him. It would be preferable for the counselor and the Indian student to walk side by side together.

3. Indian Counselors should be given preference to non-Indian counselors. Personal qualifications of Indian applicants should be given more importance than degree requirements.

The committee defined the job of the counselor as one which is designed to facilitate and aid the Indian student's entrance and overall experience in a new and foreign environment. The committee listed those qualifications and attributes it thought were necessary for the counselor to possess according to three categories of competence (professional indicating some graduate degree in guidance or counseling):

A. Professional Indian Counselor

1. He must think Indian.
2. Because he is Indian, he must have a total commitment to the Indian student and to all Indian people.
3. He must have an overall understanding of the institution and be capable of functioning effectively within the hierarchy of the institution.
4. He should function as a liaison between the Indian student, the Indian community and the college community.

B. Professional Non-Indian Counselor

1. He should have or share to a certain degree the experience of the professional Indian counselor.
2. This experience may be realized through pre-service and in-service training and working with Indian groups or communities to familiarize himself with the Indian ways of life and thought. Training sessions and/or institutes may greatly add to his overall understanding of problems which are uniquely Indian.

C. Para-professional (Indian and non-Indian) — Para-professionals are those individuals from the Indian and college communities who do not possess the degree status of the professional. Rather, they are people who are invaluable assets to the entire guidance program. This might include dormitory directors, resident advisors, faculty members, fellow students, tribal leaders and educational committees.

If any individual feels that he is not qualified to deal with the problem of an Indian student, they should refer the student to qualified personnel.

4. There is a strong need for effective and continuing counseling at both the primary and secondary levels, utilizing Indian personnel.

5. Institutions of higher learning should not recruit Indian students unless they have a total and firm commitment to these students.

Pre-freshman programs for Indian students should be implemented to foster adjustment and strive to alleviate the traditional freshman hassle.

The adjustment of the Indian student must be a continuing commitment for the length of the student's matriculation at an institution.

6. We must utilize the expertise of the established Indian students on a continuing basis that will benefit them and the students who follow.

Indian students can aid and foster adjustment to college life if they are involved in such areas as orientation committee members, academic review board members, study skills or tutorial services and counseling.

7. Institutions of higher education should incorporate within their undergraduate and graduate programs in guidance and counseling areas of study relevant to the counseling of Indians, taking into consideration contemporary Indian life styles and life views.

8. There is a pressing need for the utilization of Indian counseling agencies and liaison groups.

There must be a strong communication link between both the urban and reservation Indian and the academic community.

9. Indian organizations must be an integral part of the college community.

The purposes of such an organization should be:

- a. Identity groups for Indian students.
- b. To serve as a campus social group.
- c. To educate the college and surrounding community about the contemporary Indian.
- d. To act as a liaison group between the academic and Indian community.

10. Think Indian!

DISCUSSION

Betty Herrick: When an Indian student is being counseled, should the counselor think of him as an Indian first or should he think of him as a student who happens to be Indian? Many people have voiced the opinion that it would be better to keep in mind that he is an Indian first because his reactions would be different than those of a non-Indian who needed counseling.

Arnold Chapman: If you know a student is an Indian, you have to look at him as an Indian first and as a student second. Everyone who comes through the door you treat as a person and as a student. But if you know he's Indian, especially if he asserts his Indianness in some manner, then you must look at him as he perceives himself — as Indian. He will be thinking differently and you have got to realize this. The ones who do not think Indian you will probably not be able to recognize as Indians. Therefore, you are going to treat them as students.

Chris Tibbits: If you are going to counsel him, you are going to listen first. You don't tell him, you find out where he's at.

Leo Nolan: When a student walks through the door, whether he's Indian or not, I think of him in a way that will best solve his problem. The solution of the problem is what we are concerned with. If he wants to talk about his Indianness and if I can solve his problem through his Indianness, good. If he does not want to make that distinction, that's okay, too.

Chapman: Naturally, when a student comes to the door you take him as a person first. But if I know he's Indian, I'm going to look at him with an Indian point of view, whether he thinks Indian or not. Of course I'm going to listen. I'm always going to listen.

Lincoln White: Don't you feel, Arnold, that a statement that there is such a thing as an Indian point of view is too general and imprecise a statement to make about humans. I think you have to be acutely aware of the uniqueness of the individual and the commonalities of everyone in this room and throughout the totality of mankind. Unless we take a humanitarian stand and consider each person on the basis of his own merits, we will destroy many of the things that have been accomplished up to this point in time. There are cultural characteristics that a counselor should be aware of when working with Native Americans. But it is just as important to keep in mind both the commonalities and uniqueness of individuals.

Lyman Pierce: In the area of counseling, every person has his particular idea as to how it should be done. It really involves your values, your point of view, your theory of man and your position. I think each counselor must take this outline and wrestle with it if he is going to be a successful counselor.

The Indian counselors can pinpoint where the Indian youth is at. The Indian counselor can size-up his family relations, his political ties. Maybe he's from the same area. White counselors need pre-service and in-service training to acquaint themselves with the type of individuals that they are going to be working with. A white counselor may be pursuing questions that are academic. In the process, this might turn the student off. He may be going at it in a formal way that makes the Indian uncomfortable.

Chapman: I see no reason why, in the next year or two, there cannot be an increase in the number of Indian personnel in higher education. If people are really sincere and if they want success, they will need Indian counselors.

John Chapple: What about the school with a small Indian enrollment? It is certainly ideal to have Indian staff, but what about next fall? Not all the schools represented here will have Indian personnel. What can you do to help Indian students in that case?

Minerva White: Right now our students in college need counselors. Every reservation that has students in college should have an Indian counselor to visit them. The students will tell someone from home their problems which may seem minor to us but they are important to them.

When a student quits college I usually call them to find out why. What I am trying to do is make the State Education Department see the need for counseling on the college level. I had one girl who quit. She said she was sick of white people. They apparently teased her, said she must have lived in a big teepee, and little things like this. I think they were very ignorant of how Indians live. I don't think they realized they were hurting her feelings.

Art Einhorn: This is an isolated case but I'm sure it happens to other young people that go away to college. I think being forewarned is to be forearmed. Maybe this situation could be avoided by having a rap session to discuss the things like this that are apt to arise.

Pierce: The supportive services, faculty and staff at a particular school can do a lot in this area of human relations, making members of all minority groups more comfortable. By bridging the gap between various ethnic groups, everyone is put at ease. We are dealing with a broader question than merely a counselor in a job role trying to help a student through college. We are also dealing with a university community and an Indian community. This is where para-professionals can enhance the program and make everyone more comfortable. Of course, you have got to know the culture in order to appreciate the culture and you have to know the people in order to appreciate the culture.

We are only making the difference here in order to understand the kind of student we have been talking about for three weeks. The needs, the culture, the community ties that exist have all been discussed.

If you have studied the program at Wisconsin, they talk about "gypsy counseling". I do not know how often counselors go to the dorm rooms and seek out people to find out what their needs are. When you are working with Indian students and you want to keep them in school, you are going to have to deal with these students by appreciating who they are. For four hundred years they have never been appreciated. We have different needs, different goals, different desires.

An Indian counselor does not say the job is done by sending out a piece of paper stating his hours are from 9 to 5 and you can come in and see him any time you want. We have got guidance counselors in the high schools across New York State. Yet, our students in the high schools are not being counseled because the Indian student does not go to the office. He is not raised that way. You are going to have to know these young people on a personal basis. Often, you are going to have to seek them out rather than having them seek you out. Not in a patronizing way but on an equal basis. To befriend an Indian you have to use tact, you have to know who they are. If you do not, you could make a mistake in counseling.

Now Indians are not after the white man's jobs. We believe in pre-service and in-service training for non-Indians. When a suggestion is made that a priority should be given to Indian counselors, it is for the success of keeping that Indian student in school.

Jim Fritze: Counseling is not giving advice, it is listening, but it is more than that, too. If professional training does any one thing, I think it gives us a little bit different orientation and causes us to know that we cannot take this individual and solve his problem for him or size him up and evaluate him and tell him what to do. I think, very definitely, that we have to listen to this person, understand, empathize with the person. Understand his point of view, his situation, his problem as much as possible to see it as he sees it.

Yvonne Robinson: I think the main thing is concern. If a student feels that you're concerned and that you're trustworthy, he will come to you.

Tibbits: I think the most important thing you said, Arnold, was the concept of walking with someone as opposed to leading someone. This is true regardless of the person's race. But it is a particularly important concept when dealing with a student from a different cultural background. It is very difficult to truly walk with somebody if your own background is very different from his. I am not saying it is impossible, but it is a very difficult thing to do.

Pierce: An Indian student will resent a whole list of questions because you have not established the rapport first. You have to establish the rapport first with an Indian student in contrast to a white student. A middle-class white student will come to your services and demand them in many cases. He says, "I need this, I need that, what should I do here." He knows what to ask in many instances. An Indian student, on the other hand, will not do this. He may come into your office and there may be a very uncomfortable silence. But if you have the rapport and you are prepared to deal with this student when you least expect it, you will have at least a modicum of success.

L. White: By the same token, Lyman, it is a common trait among many people, perhaps more so among others, but you cannot say that this is precisely the situation for any particular group.

Pierce: No, I am only saying it is more often the case.

L. White: I only urge caution here because it often comes back to me in this manner of, here is rule number one, two, three and four in a manual of how to treat an Indian student.

Chapple: It seems to me that there are other individuals and other groups that tend to be turned off more often than not by the counseling set-up where the counselor's office is structured so that you come in at a set time, sit down, here is your half hour and here is the desk. It seems to me that for this kind of student the counseling can better take place over a cup of coffee or a coke or by employing this gypsy counseling you just mentioned in the student's room. This is perhaps an implication in your report that many Native American students are turned-off by this structured technique. Would you recommend that the contacts be made outside of the office?

M. White: I would say that too much organization scares people away. Working on the reservation, I find that there is no way to maintain a schedule.

Jean Dingee: What we are discussing here is how does a counselor relate to an individual. There are some who are very comfortable in the office, some counselors have kids in their office all the time. Others, however, have to work in the dormitories or in the local hangout. It depends on the type of person you are working with. You cannot generalize. It involves the attitude and approach that the counselor applies to his job. You know that if it is the end of the day and you are about ready to get in your car and there is a student waiting for you who you know has a problem, you just do not get in that car.

Lorraine Johnson: At Arizona State University where I attended school, the Indian students wanted an Indian advisor. The majority of the Indian students there are Navajos, so we

now have a Navajo Indian counselor. But none of the Indians want to talk to him because we don't have any confidence in him.

Pierce: That's the whole point. Just because he's Indian the students won't have confidence in him. He's got to be good. That's our way.

Johnson: I think a lot of the students just get close to one of their instructors. At first they are afraid to talk with him about their problems. But sometime if they are just walking along the sidewalk it's easy to get into a conversation. They would rather do that than sit in a counseling office or somewhere that's penned in.

Pierce: An Indian is not going to unfold himself to you, as a non-Indian, for various reasons. First of all, he doesn't want to expose himself. The second thing is that he doesn't want to say, "I need help." If you want to have success with an Indian student then you have to appreciate where that student is at. Make him your friend. A friend will relate to you more. That is a rule of counseling.

Dennis Brida: My roommate in college had a big problem. His problem was the counselors. He had a faculty advisor, a counselor, and an admissions counselor. His problem was that all these people were constantly asking what his problems were when he didn't really have any. There is the possibility for people to over-counsel students just because their background leads others to believe they need counseling.

David Jacobs and Lincoln White



David Jacobs: When I felt I needed counseling, I chose a member of the faculty who I thought was the most capable of giving me the advice that would steer me in the right direction. You can't push yourself on a student or you'll scare him off.

Pierce: A wise counselor will not do this. You've got to reach the Indian with the problem who lacks self-assurance. If you're bicultural, you can move in different societies. Some Indians don't need help. They have the ability to choose their course and may not want any counseling at all. You can't fall into the stereotype that because he's Indian, he needs counseling.

Lucius Gotti: How do you react to the idea of employing an Indian student in the counseling office as a counseling aid? If you can find an Indian student who relates easily to other people, this might serve the purpose of having someone that the student could communicate with in the counseling office.

Jacobs: I think the best method is to start an Indian organization.

Brida: What about the initiating of a vehicle of communication for Indians at college, perhaps on a statewide scale? It might be an organization, a newspaper, cooperative or something along those lines.

Jacobs: If an Indian is going to school, he has to be motivated. It's no easy game, even the way things appear today. As far as counseling goes, you have to be a member of that minority group to be successful. Therefore, I think you should have those Indians in college today prepare for those fields which are necessary for better counseling services.

From my four year experience in school, I think it is easier to be black than Indian. When you are walking around campus the majority of students do not know that you are Indian. You know you're Indian — this is something you accept. One day you mention something about the reservation, everyone looks at you, says, "You're Indian!" and then asks, "Where's your horse?" Sometimes it can be embarrassing. The identification point has to be handled very carefully.

Larry Lazore: Do you feel that if you had had more background in your culture in your earlier years that you would have had fewer problems off the reservation?

Jacobs: I don't know if it would have been easier, but it would have been less embarrassing. Sometimes when other students asked me questions I knew nothing about the Indian culture.

Rose Jochowitz: What lesson have you learned from your experience that could prevent similar problems among other students?

Bill Laughing: Most Indians I've talked to who have gone on to big universities and big schools have had problems because they are listed as a number. But when you are known as an individual, when teachers and other people know what you are capable of, then the Indian has a better chance of understanding himself and what is going on around him. Of course this is only my opinion. Other individuals might think a large school a great aid.

Gotti: Was there any effort by any of the colleges that you attended to reach out to you as an individual from the Indian community? Did anyone ever ask if you needed help?

Laughing: No one ever came and asked if I needed assistance.

Ethnic Studies As Charters

Self-Identification and Self-Legitimation

by Dr. Frederick O. Gearing

I want to talk about charters because it occurred to me that a group as diverse as you are, having the commonality of interest that you do, would in one way or another find yourselves involved in some charter-making activity, in such things as ethnic studies and American Indian studies in particular. I am going to suggest that such activities are most lucidly discussed in the context of thinking of them as charter-making activities. By charters, I mean that humanly universal activity of creating histories, other stories and various rituals which serve as vehicles of self-identification and self-legitimation.

Not only are there charter-making activities, there are counter-charter-making activities. In order to make that point I will have to go into detail to describe the structure of curricula generally, and in particular the structure of classrooms in universities. Classrooms in themselves are the result of considerable charter-making activity. The question is, whose charter is that?

First, an aside. Culture is not habits, it is not knee-jerk reactions. Culture is a code that's publicly shared within a population. In terms of which code the members of such a population interact vis-a-vis one another, with an eye to this code. Now, lift an individual from that group and his behavior will be quite different. The whole activity of cross-cultural perception can not occur except when the bearers of the culture in question are in a group. One cannot perceive across cultural boundaries by observing a human individual lifted out of his cultural context. One cannot read the code from isolated individual behavior.

In your various roles in universities and colleges, you are

dealing with human individuals, not cultural groups. There is some question as to what, in fact, one can do about knowing the culture and also the utility of that knowledge and whether culture is even relevant to get the job done at all. Now do not read my comments to say that it is irrelevant. Nevertheless, when you are dealing with an individual lifted out of the cultural group with which he shares a code, you are dealing with, in a sense, a new man and a very different man. The utility of knowing that individual's group is often problematical.

Instead, let us consider charters and charter-making. If you chance to remember, in the early pages of that little book on the Fox Indians there was that series of events which unfolded when the BIA came into the community and said, "We are going to move this 8th grade from the reservation school into Tama." The members of the Indian community said two things. The first thing they said was, "No you are not." The second thing said was, "Well, you know, we used to live in Wisconsin and then there were those wars and we ended up in southern Illinois and over into Iowa; then there was the Black Hawk war and then we ended up in Kansas. We left Kansas and came back up here and bought this land and here we are." I am suggesting that you hold that latter response in mind as a prime example of reiteration of a charter.

The meaning of those utterances about the Fox Indians, about Fox history, were exercises in self-justification. They were in effect saying: who are we? This is who we are. How did we get here? This is how we got here. Where are we going? This is how you tell where we are going, by where we have been. How do we relate to ourselves, to other men, to nature and to supernature? It is a reading of history. That history was created by self-identification and self-legitimation. Charters define self to self and charters legitimize. Charters embody group definitions of themselves and in doing so provide a large component of the individual's definition of himself.

Dr. Frederick O. Gearing is currently professor of anthropology at the State University of New York at Buffalo. He is author of *The Face of the Fox* and has edited and contributed to various anthropological journals. Dr. Gearing is one of the founding members of the Council on Anthropology and Education.



Dr. Frederick Gearing

The Hopi Indians will tell you where they came out of "that hole" at the point of creation, the sequence in which their ancestors emerged and that, in their minds, these ancestors "stand for" the Hopi clans that exist today. Those clans are the major vehicles of social organization and political organization of that community. The teller of that creation story reiterates the political reality of the contemporary Hopi community in its internal affairs.

Societal Charter-making

Let us turn now to the particulars at hand, to our own majority society, if I may use that misleading phrase. History as it is most commonly taught in schools, with its selectivity of what is included and not included, is most obviously a massive charter. It is a charter, a sort of self-legitimation activity, by those segments of our society that are at or near the centers of power. History as it is pursued by historians, with some additional constraints, is also a charter-making activity. Getting the historian's "point of view" amounts to finding out what side he is on. So history as pursued by historians is also a charter-making activity in a derived and complicated sense.

Think of the phrase that has received currency in recent literature — the hidden curriculum. I am getting to things that are taught in the classrooms that go beyond anyone's conscious intent. If you read a study by Richard Warren of a school in Germany, you will immediately perceive a pattern. The kids come into that room on the first day of kindergarten and by midday they have learned, one, that you line up to get in and you line up to leave; two, when an adult comes into the room you stand; three, a whole set of etiquette of when you speak and how you speak, and finally, the first of a whole battery of child-like poems. They have poems about everything you could think of and the biggest part of the day is devoted to reading these poems. If you read this study I think what you will see is a pattern of socialization. What it is doing is shaping those kids into a social system. A system reflected

by the larger German society — highly organized, bureaucratized and rational.

There is a study by John Singleton of a village school in Japan and if you read that you can see the same kind of charter-making activity going on. Different in content because Japanese society is different. But those kids are being shaped to take their place in Japanese society according to the way the persons at or near the centers of power conceive that society to be. The important point is that this is largely unintended and the reason it unfolds so rigorously and consistently is that the teachers themselves are socialized in the system.

There is a study in the *Harvard Educational Review* by Ray C. Rist. He wanted to do an ethnography of a kindergarten, so he went there, as few kinds of social scientists do, and he spent hours observing the kindergarten. Here is a school where most of the kids are black and most of them are poor. The kindergarten teacher is black and middle-class. Within three weeks after the first day of school the teacher had separated the class into three groups: the low, the middle and the high achievers. Rist checked and compiled all the information the teacher had about the children at that time. She had considerable information on their social class and virtually no information on anything else, and yet they were sorted into three "achievement" groups. Close scrutiny disclosed that the children were actually sorted by social class. He studied this same group for two years and at the end of the second grade the children were still in the same achievement groups. They were now behaving in the manner expected of each group. That is charter-making.

One final case. Theodore Parsons went into a community in California. The community was Anglo and Chicano. The Anglos had all the money and the Chicanos did all the agricultural work. He saw things that on the face of it were completely innocuous. The teacher had a system of student "helpers". This system came into play when one student had

completed the class assignment, in math for instance, and another student was having trouble. She would team them and have the former student help the latter. That sounds like a good idea. Except, of course, and you could predict this, all the "helpers" were Anglos and all those receiving help were Chicanos and what was happening was these kids were being socialized into the caste structure of their community. I am sure the teacher was quite unaware that her seemingly ingenious system was translating the pattern of the wider society into a classroom reality.

Everyone Participates in the Conspiracy

All these cases have exemplified charter-making that is largely unintentional. It is neither conscious nor designed, and it is basically unrecognized. In general, in the schools and in the colleges you have an enormous redundancy, as if there were a conspiracy among these institutions to recreate in the classrooms and halls the structures as they exist, the economic class structures, the ethnic structures. When a child goes into kindergarten and on through the educational system, he is being socialized in the hidden curriculums. He is being socialized into the structure of the wider society as it is deemed to be by those sectors of the society that are at and near the centers of power. We are all co-conspirators in that enactment.

I used the word redundant because what I see going on in these institutionalized, educational structures is just that. The curriculum and the testing devices which classify students according to achievement levels are merely redundant. All of those activities are precipitants of one cultural system. Those standards are created and therefore everyone else is being measured, sorted, tested and shaped by those same things. All that these comments about hidden curriculum have to say is that we all engage in these charter-making activities.

The school newspaper where I went to college had a banner headline which declared, "All the news that fits we print", and that is the essence of charter-making activity, the assembling and reiteration of all the news that seems to serve for self-identification, for self-justification, for self-legitimation. That is all a charter-making activity normally is and perhaps that is all it should be expected to be.

Occasionally, in the area where I happen to be, a high school or college proposes a program in the general area of ethnic studies involving Indians. Sooner or later someone, and interestingly it is never an Indian, comes to me and says, "Well, why don't you help them with that ethnic studies course?" The fact of the matter is, I cannot write anybody else's charter. I can perhaps help write my own. But the only thing I could possibly do for others is to supply a repository of information and allow them to leaf through it — all the news that fits they print. I cannot write yours, you cannot write mine, we can only write our own charters.

Charter-making activities are humanly universal. In the particular context of our society, ethnic charter-making should be viewed as counter-charter-making activity. These efforts are designed to mount a counter-charter against an overwhelmingly massive charter that starts being reiterated in kindergarten and runs right through the length and breadth of the educational system. In your various roles, many of you will be in a position to grapple with the charter-making question in relation to the development of ethnic studies courses. It is a



Corky Strandburg, John Larsen, Ken Sawers, Lincoln White

start to recognize these for what they are, as charter-making activities, and go on from there according to your best judgement.

The group definition of self, which is facilitated and assisted by various charter-making activities of this kind, is virtually a precondition of the individual's definition of self. So I have avoided talking about any aspect of individual psychological adjustment. I am talking about group phenomena — about charter-making which is not an individual's activity, but an activity of a group. In the context of ethnic studies, it is an activity of a group briefly thrown together, just by chance of being on a single campus. I suggest that understanding such charter-making activities is a prerequisite for even being able to understand, to say nothing of assist, individuals.

DISCUSSION

Ernest Krag: One of our objectives has been to understand the Indian point of view, particularly the Indian going on to a campus. It interests and disturbs me to hear you say that taken out of his group context, his background is relatively unimportant within the new surroundings.

Gearing: The individual's background is not necessarily unimportant to the individual, that is for him to say. What I'm saying is that from a position as a college administrator, faculty member or counselor, the individual's behavior does not provide college personnel with a great insight into the culture which shaped the individual.



Krag: In your book you described how the non-Indian people in the vicinity of the Fox Reservation attempted to evaluate the Indians without knowing them from within or by their own charters.

Gearing: The people in the vicinity of the Fox had access to Fox group behavior. The problem there was that the people were processing that behavior information in such a way that it virtually guaranteed they would not see what was actually happening right in front of them.

Robert Simpson: This picture of setting the classroom into three distinct groups and essentially freezing it this way for the rest of the children's lives is very disturbing to me. I thought we were trying to fight this system in modern education. Has there been any success?

Gearing: The homogeneous grouping system has come under attack recently. People are saying, with considerable reason, why have this homogeneous grouping? The teacher says it makes it easier. The entire community control movement is a counter-charter-making activity directed against this method. They strongly insist on the removal of the tracking system.

Richard Frost: I would like to offer my own reservations and exceptions to your perhaps very substantial observations on charter-making. I am a historian and I am quite conscious of the myth-making that goes on in American history. I know it is all too prevalent. It is also true that in some areas, Black Studies for instance, that counter-charter-making is transpiring.

It does seem to me that the quality of realism you are describing has an element of anti-intellectual cynicism that I am not fully prepared to accept. I believe there is an ideal which is never fully realized but which is approached by persons who are well disciplined, who are humble in their approach, knowledgeable, sensitive, and committed to the ideals of their intellectual pursuit of what I would call liberal learning. You can do an end-run on me if you want to say that liberal inquiry itself is charter-making because it is true, we can see the university ideal in the Western world as one of the qualities of Western life.

But liberal inquiry is at least a very earnest effort to get at the past as it actually happened knowing full well that it can never be fulfilled. It is an effort to put aside or at least to come to fair terms with one's own values and predispositions and to acknowledge them in the course of doing research. It is to work with an open and humble mind in an effort not to prove either that one's own cultural background and people are right or to substitute for that legitimacy the legitimacy of another less privileged historical group. It is an effort rather to deal with the *charter of mankind*. I hope that our examination of college structure and intellectual inquiry and our awareness that myth making can be self-serving and that education from the cradle to the grave may also be highly self-serving, does not blind us to this civilized ideal of dispassionate inquiry, letting the chips fall where they may.

Gearing: I can only thank you for your statement. I have one elaboration. It would not be a good reflection of my own thinking if I, in fact, conveyed the impression that nothing is gained by disciplined inquiry. A considerable gain is made. This is what disciplines are — they save us from the more grievous errors. I think that the little increment, that additional constraint, that check on one's self that discipline provides is a big element in the history of man. Certainly, it is possible not to think of the parochial charters that we have been talking about but to think ahead to something we could term a charter of mankind. It should be self-evident, on pain of survival, that we must get on with the job of a mankind charter.

Frost: Let me give you an example of this. At the Institute of American Indian Art the man who teaches Indian poetry to Indian students from tribes all over the United States is a very black black. From personal knowledge I believe him to be very sensitive and very capable. If, however, we subscribe to the position that only those persons who are within a culture have the legitimacy to impart that culture to others, that is to say they are the only ones who may participate in the charter perpetuation process, then such situations as this would be denied those children.

You can see that multiplied in many situations across the country where ethnic groups insist that only their ethnic group can provide the teacher. In superficial ways that is true or at least in many cases it is true. But there is a commitment on the part of many people, including teachers, to those qualities that transcend that type of legitimacy. I hope we can sustain that.

Gearing: History gets better in so far as people recognize the charter-making behind it. The only thing we have working for the human race is the capacity for a continually growing amount of self-awareness.



Members of the Recruitment and Admissions Committee, left to right: Al Gilbert, Sister Mary Louise Fiedler, Mal Lavery, Corky Strandburg, Arliss Barss, John Chapple, John Larsen.

Recruitment and Admissions Committee Recommendations

Preface

The report of the Committee on Recruitment and Admissions is submitted below. Before entering our recommendations, the committee desires to make a prefatory statement of principles.

Commitment is the essential prerequisite. The commitment of an academic institution to the education of Native Americans should be made formally by the president of the institution. This commitment should extend to the faculty centers and the academic and student service deans. This total commitment must be present *before* the admissions office is directed to recruit Native American students. The past histories of other ethnic groups which have become "popular" is evidence enough of the unfortunate circumstances which result when an institution endeavors to recruit students from diverse cultural backgrounds without making adequate institutional preparations in terms of aspects of cultural awareness. Each group has its own unique concerns, problems, needs and aspirations.

Consequently, the commitment to Native Americans must be more than a philosophical commitment. The committee was basically concerned with underprivileged Indian students. Total commitment, therefore, entails extensive financial aid obligations to the student for the duration of his matriculation. Total commitment makes it incumbent upon admissions personnel to be aware of the responsibilities incurred when Native Americans enroll at their institutions.

Recommendations

The Committee on Recruitment and Admissions makes the following recommendations:

1. Prior to the origination of a recruitment program for Native American students, key individuals in the admissions process should be trained and given a sensitivity for interacting with Native Americans. Preferably, the employment of an Indian staff member is recommended.

This training should include general orientation to Native American history and culture, and an in-depth study of the values, lifestyles and manners of specific tribes with which these personnel would be in contact.

2. The recruitment process should be viewed as rendering a service to the Native American community.

The committee concluded that the establishment of trust and a working rapport is dependent upon a non-competitive approach to Native American students. By not selling a particular program or school but by asking the Indian community what your institution can do for them, your service will be respected. If as a result a student chooses your institution, it will be a credit to your efforts.

3. The admissions officer should approach the Native American community through the appropriate recognized reservation representative.

The committee found a problematic situation in regard to the urban Indian in contrast to the situation of the Indian who resides on a reservation.

Concerning the reservation Indian, and this will vary to some extent on different reservations, the admissions officer should approach prospective students through either the tribal leaders or the education committees which are now in

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Members of the Financial Aids Committee, left to right: Phyllis Dunn, Jim Fritze, Harry Richards, Yvonne Robinson, Dennis Brida. Missing: Lucius Gotti, Larry Lazore.

Financial Aids Committee Recommendations

Preface

In our deliberations, the Committee on Financial Aids discovered several fundamental problems and inadequacies which adversely affect the ability of Indian students to obtain aid to the extent that they can successfully attend college.

The most pertinent problem in the area of financial aids is the inadequate level of funding on a broad scale and even non-funding in some cases.

A serious lack of communication between the multitude of agencies which administer financial aids programs — federal, state, local and private — and financial aids counselors on all levels creates difficulty in providing meaningful or equitable financial assistance.

The history of poor guidance that Indian students have received in regard to financial aids is partially the result of this lack of communication. The failure of these agencies to adequately inform financial aid officials of criteria, eligibility requirements, and funding levels with sufficient advance notice, makes it difficult for the Indian to complete the necessary preparations. The inadequate training of some counselors and, in a significant number of cases, a stereotyped attitude toward the Indian student are also contributing factors, particularly on the secondary level, in obtaining aid for the Indian student.

Some policies of various agencies are disadvantageous to the Indian population. As presently carried out, the government's encouragement of urbanization of Indians frees it from responsibilities in financing higher education for Indian students. Students attending schools not located in their state of residence are denied state aid although the Indian has had these boundaries artificially imposed upon him. The various eligibility requirements for financial aid are confusing, inconsistent and inequitable.

With respect to the procedures for securing financial aids, there is an unwarranted duplication of forms. Some forms are unduly personal and degrading. A lack of availability of forms is occasionally a problem. Particularly disturbing is the lack of coordination of deadlines, approval and acceptance dates, especially for aid contingent on other programs. This lack of coordination makes carefully considered decisions difficult if not impossible.

Recommendations

In an attempt to rectify the aforementioned problems, the Committee on Financial Aids makes the following recommendations:

1. The establishment of a national Indian financial aids information service which would centralize, collate and disseminate aid information on a regular basis.

Such an organization would be composed of and for Indians. It would be funded through private sources. A full-time staff would be able to investigate all potential sources of Indian aid and make records of Indian aid allocations by all sources at educational institutions. This information could be continually updated and revised and then channelled to the appropriate persons — reservation education committees, college financial aid officers, guidance counselors and other interested parties. An annual or semi-annual report supplemented with more frequent newsletters could be the means of dissemination.

2. A complete financial aids package should be available to the student upon recruitment.

Under present conditions, many times a student is unaware

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Admissions

existence on some reservations. The knowledge, sensitivity and tact of the admissions officer takes on paramount importance at this point since he must work and develop a rapport not only with diverse tribes but also with the secondary school personnel.

In urban areas there is not the natural leadership group to refer to so the admissions officer will have to do some preliminary investigation to locate local urban Indian centers.

4. Prior to the origination of a recruitment program for Native American students, the institution should have a well developed plan for the coordination of services including the financial aids office, business office, registrar, housing office, health service, supportive services and other auxiliary enterprises.

5. One member of the admissions staff should be delegated sole responsibility in Native American admissions. The actual ad-

missions decision should be vested in this individual. As an ombudsman, he should be responsible for the coordination of services for the Indian student.

The committee made this comprehensive recommendation because it is vitally necessary in developing a relation of trust between the institution and the Native American community to have an individual who the Indian community can view with confidence. Therefore, the institution's representative should be knowledgeable, sensitive and *accountable*.

This is particularly important in respect to financial aid. The admissions officer should be conversant with the various aid programs for which the Indian student is eligible. An admissions officer should never promise any aid unless he knows it to be definitely available. This officer should not just admit the Indian student and then pass his name on to the financial aids office. The admissions officer should supervise the "white tape" that can discourage an Indian student from attending college.

The various offices responsible in areas of student affairs

Financial Aids

of aid opportunities until he arrives at school. Or not knowing that financing is available, he passes up higher education.

Recruiters should inform all prospective students of the costs involved in attending their college and the resources which are available to meet those expenses. Such a list should include private grants, federal and state programs — grants, loans, social security and veterans benefits — plus any help the institution can provide from its own resources. Preliminary estimates of the expected parental or student contributions, if any, should also be stated.

Under no circumstances should an Indian student be promised support that is not definite. If a student expresses interest in attending a recruiter's school, an immediate needs analysis should be executed to make an accurate determination of the financial aids package. Past history dictates that the Indian student be given a guarantee and not merely promises to be fulfilled at some future date.

The recruiter should not only have competence in the area of admissions, but he should also have full knowledge of financial aids. Preferably, one individual should have responsibility over both these areas in regard to Indian students.

Constant reevaluation of the package is necessary to insure that the aid is meeting the needs of the Indian student.

3. A minimum federal grant should be allocated for every Indian student who desires to pursue higher education.

The statutory grant for Indian higher education made by New York State is one example of this type of aid.

4. Supplemental funding should be made available to Indian students.

This funding, most likely provided by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare or other government agencies, should be available specifically for Indian students who find their total educational costs,

including maintenance, exceeding grant monies. These funds should be allocated according to need. [Editor's note: A minority view expressed the opinion that need should not be a criteria for this award and that it should be granted regardless of the Indian student's (or parents') ability-to-pay. For these comments, see discussion.]

5. Eligibility requirements and needs analysis criteria must be modified in the interests of equity.

The following changes are suggested:

a. One-quarter Indian blood, documented by lineage, should constitute eligibility for Indian aid. Place of residence, non-reservation status, or the inability or lack of desire to be on a tribal role should not be determining factors of eligibility.

b. Funds should be available for Indians to pursue summer school, graduate education, and adult education. At present, Indian aid grants are targeted predominantly to undergraduate education.

c. There should be no minimum hour requirement (course load) to be eligible for financial aid.

d. Special financial aid stipends should be made available for Indian students with dependents.

6. Information on financial aids must be disseminated to non-reservation Indians in areas where their special needs will not be so readily recognized.

Non-reservation and urban Indians are not only discriminated against in funding allocations, but because of their dispersion, few programs are ever targeted to provide them with the necessary information.

7. One standardized form should be used for all post-secondary school financial aid applications.

This form might emanate from the Bureau of Indian Affairs

should be notified of special arrangements for Indian students. Financial Aids and Business Offices — should develop deferred payment plans and temporary waivers of fees and deposits. These fees are easily collected through automatic deductions when aid funds are processed through the business office. Registrar and advisement — advisors should be given ample notice to prepare for any special difficulties the Indian student might have or any problems that his educational background might present. Advisors should try to counsel the student to take courses which meet his needs. Care must be exercised that they are taking the proper courses and are not just following all the other students. Guidance in a first year schedule of courses that would fulfill any degree requirement is recommended. Personnel in the supportive services — tutoring, remedial work, counseling — and the Indian student should be introduced to facilitate their interaction.

Most importantly, the procedures and functions of these various services should be fully explained to the Indian student. He should feel free to contact the personnel of these services or the ombudsman admissions officer.

and be distributed by request to the state agencies and educational institutions involved with a particular applicant. This system would be comparable to that now used by the Educational Testing Service's Parents' Confidential Statement.

The form should ask only the minimum pertinent information. The questions should not be absurd or degrading, nor should they require personal information not directly related to eligibility or financial status.

8. Establishment of an Office of Indian Financial Aid within the State Education Department.

This would serve as a communications link to inform all high school and college personnel responsible for financial aid planning of funding available for Indian students within the state.

9. Establishment of interstate cooperation in the form of tuition waivers and reciprocity in other aspects of financial aid should be explored.

10. Institutions of higher education should employ Indian financial aid counselors with a sensitivity for Indian people.

Counselors must have a thorough knowledge of financial aids in higher education. Counselors should seek out students to find out whether they are having difficulties with financial aids. Contact should be made prior to matriculation so that personal assistance can be provided to each student in completing aid applications.

11. A communications network should be established between the admissions, financial aids and business offices within each institution of higher education.

Such a network would facilitate problem solving and

6. Admissions criteria must be flexibly designed based on a true commitment to enroll Native American students.

The committee recognizes that it is addressing a broad spectrum of institutions of higher education. Their standards, expectations and requirements may vary significantly. The committee believes that flexibility in meeting the needs of the individual applicant will give the best results in attaining successful matriculation.

Allowances must be made in the evaluation of standardized tests and the high school record. The standards applied to the larger society will not necessarily be valid yardsticks and may often need to be waived. Personal recommendations are extremely helpful in assessing the character and motivation of a Native American student. Personal interviews and campus visits should also be encouraged.

The admissions officer should not, however, extend his institution's standards to the point that he is doing a disservice to the prospective Indian student. When you admit a student, you are implying that he has a reasonable chance of success.

increase coordination. This is a necessity with financial problems which seem to be the largest category of confusion and misunderstanding. The ability of the institution to respond to extra-institutional questions quickly and accurately will also be enhanced.

12. Deferred payment plans need to be instituted.

The registrar, the dormitory and dining hall, the bookstore, the health service and all other auxiliary enterprises should be given notice that their services should not be withheld from Indian students who are waiting for aid funds to be processed and arrive at the institution's business office.

13. Better coordination of aid programs must be achieved.

This recommendation pertains to the dissemination of information, setting of deadlines, approval and acceptance dates. It is frequently the case that they are contradictory, contingent upon another application which is not in accord with the dates set, or they work against intelligent decision making.

14. An ample supply of forms must be available at all times.

This recommendation calls for anticipation on the part of aid officers and guidance counselors to request forms for their offices from the respective agencies prior to any initiatives by the students. Instructions for filling out all forms should accompany every application.

15. There is a need for a full-time counselor on each reservation.

This counselor might not be strictly limited to financial aids but might also include advisement in college admissions and secondary school academic programs.

Considerations in Admitting The Prospective Indian Student

by Conrad Sharrow

Today, there are between 6,000 and 8,000 American Indians in higher education. In 1970 there were five times as many American Indians graduating from high school as there were in 1960. The proportion in college is still small compared to the total Indian population. We do anticipate and hope that the number of Indians going into higher education will increase considerably in the next decade.

The Question of Success

One of the serious problems that has been discussed is that in the admissions process for a prospective Indian student there is a question of success. Will he make it? It is not our role, nor is it our philosophy, to admit people who we know from experience will have the most difficult time making a go of college. There are studies that show frightening facts about American Indians who have been admitted to higher education in the past ten years. In a 1962 report, four hundred college students were studied. Twenty-six percent of the students had grade point averages of 2.75 or better and thirty-five percent had less than 2.0 on a four point scale. How many of these people who are now in college will ultimately graduate is open to speculation. A much smaller percentage of these students will complete the general program than in the total population. Why this tragic educational disadvantage?

The federal government has to carry part of the burden for this problem. Financially, they have been the most important source for Indian education. The federal government's policy is one which has not always been, from the Indian's point of view or from any objective criteria, an enlightening one. The federal government's philosophy, as reflected in Congressional appropriations and concern, has fluctuated through the years. More people are now convinced of the need for Indian participation and decision making at the federal level for the benefit of Indian education.

Cultural barriers can also become educational obstacles. Bilingualism and possible language barriers provide another problem for the American Indian in higher education. The level of academic achievement suffers when the native tongue is not the language used in the school. Cultural rules that demand that you not succeed more than your father did may

be further factors that inhibit the academic achievement of the student.

The boarding schools, public schools and BIA schools each have their own peculiar problems. Yet, I can see some things that are conspicuously pervasive enough to warrant generalizations. For instance, one thing that seems to be clear is a need for greater Indian participation in the control of Indian education. There need to be more Indian members on the board of education of public schools and on commissions that will help determine Indian educational policies. There should be more Indian teachers to teach where there is a significant Indian population. Indian administrators should be sought. And finally, para-professionals that know how to deal more effectively with Indian youngsters should be provided.

Basically, there are two educational approaches. One tries to assimilate the Indian in the American society, while the other tries to respect the Indian's culture to make them a viable force in American society. Since the Indian culture is threatened with absorption into the American society, we must assist the Indian in the preservation of his precious heritage.

President Nixon has recognized these needs. He says that we must assure that the Indian can control his own life without being separated from the tribal group. We must make it clear that the Indian can become independent of federal control without being cut off from federal concern and federal support. In short, there is a need for more Indian control over policy and at professional levels in their educational system.

How To Make The Judgement

This is the admissions officer's dilemma. There are an increasing number of Indians graduating from high school. Many of them are applying to enter colleges and universities. The quality of education that they have received is not always on a par with the other students that are being admitted and with whom these Indian students will be competing. How do you find and admit students who have a reasonable chance of success? And what kind of compensatory education is necessary to insure that they will?

That is the crux of the problem that we are working with in

several different respects at St. Lawrence. At this point, what we have to do is to put the admissions officer in a position to make the judgement about admissions. How are we going to do that? How are we going to bring admissions personnel into the proper relationships with the Indian community so that they can make the judgement? After all, that is what an admissions officer does. He makes judgements. It is a simple yes or no proposition.

Contrary to what some people may think, we are not here to just say no. We are here to make the decision that is right for the person who is making the application. In order to make the judgement we have to become involved with the Indian community. We cannot just move in arbitrarily or aggressively. Instead, we have to understand the views of the Indian community. We have to visit the schools where the Indian children are being educated and assess the quality of their curriculum. We have to understand the relationship between the teachers and the Indian students, and between the administrators and the leaders of the Indian community. We have to survey the amount of control and the input that comes from the Indian communities into the schools. We have to become acquainted with the leadership of the Indian community in order to know what values prevail and to understand the barriers that the people who are applying for admission are likely to encounter. We have to be aware of the differences between tribal expectations and those that are found on a campus. You must communicate with a government agency that is concerned with Indian affairs so that you know what is being done by them. You have to know of money that is available, of programming that is being funded, and of opportunities that are extended to the people in the Indian communities. You have to work with residents of local Indian communities to find out what their needs and expectations are.

Methods of Assessment

One method by which an admissions officer can work with the Indian community is through an established program such as Talent Search or Upward Bound. If there happens to be one of these programs on your campus, you have a unique advantage since you can get to know the student while they are still in secondary school in both formal and informal situations. You can talk with counselors and professors who have worked with them so that at the time they are potential candidates for admittance you may know some of these students very well. You may have been involved in helping them make decisions about their secondary school curriculum. You are in an ideal position as an admissions officer to get acquainted with the students and encourage them to have certain expectations of themselves that are realistic.

When an application comes through regular channels from an American Indian student, you only have the typical criteria to evaluate. What are admissions personnel going to think and what priorities are they going to establish? The high school transcript must be appraised because there are certain skills and knowledge that are required to succeed in an academic institution. In a liberal arts college like St. Lawrence, it is necessary to look for preparation in science, mathematics, English and social studies. Admissions personnel must consider the quality of these courses, which are the foundation of success in a liberal arts college, as they appear in the record.

The transcript is the day in and day out, four year record of what the student has done in a program similar to the one that he will be taking. There is no way to accurately judge the student but by his past. However, as you look at the transcript you are going to have to remember the question of quality in the school system from which the student came. Was this an excellent academic high school or was it a high school where they graduate about twenty-five students? It becomes extremely difficult for an admissions counselor to make an adjustment from one quality of institution to another. If you do not know a specific school, you should find out more about it before you process the application.

An additional criteria for admission is the personal interview with the student and his parent. This can be a key since it might be here that decisions are made for students that are marginal in some way or another. After all, a good portion of the question of whether you will succeed in any endeavor is the question of how much motivation and self-confidence you have. What is his self-concept, his expectations and his goals? Does he take a positive and aggressive approach to life? What is the family background? What do they think about his going to school? These are things that you can find out from a personal interview. I do not mean to imply that any admission interview is anything like a session with a psychiatrist. It is not that, and it is not intended to be and should not be viewed as a threat. Regardless of all the flaws that are involved, the personal interview is one of those things that we find to be most useful in dealing with any student, but particularly those where there might be some question about the quality of preparation, where the high school transcript might be somewhat marginal, or where the standardized test can not be judged to be as reliable or as valid as it is in the general population. So, let us meet them, let us get to talk with them, hear what they sound like, hear what they want to do, and get to know them a little better.

Standard Testing

Surprisingly enough, the SAT pattern for minority students is a fairly reliable one. There are cultural problems in the testing, but you do not have the same expectations for scores of the minority students. Here there is no substitute for experience since patterns will emerge. If the admissions office keeps careful records of the scores of persons entering and their academic success in correlation with the SAT, a pattern will be clear enough to be of some limited utility in making admissions decisions. But again, there are cultural differences. When a student takes an Iowa Test or any other standard test which has cultural implications, you cannot expect people from a different cultural background to have similar results. Do not try to make decisions with any less information than is reasonably available, however. That is why the SAT should be taken. Trust us to use it appropriately, although the pioneer group is in a risky situation.

The cost of standard testing concerns me. One estimate is that if the person follows through the college education board testing as recommended, he will have about \$40 involved in test fees. This is intolerable. For persons who have economic problems, it is perfectly possible and quite ordinary for the fees to be waived. They only need to contact the college involved. The usual pattern of testing for a high school student is this: starting the junior year, the PSAT, which is now \$2.50,

is taken. A student also takes achievement tests in courses that he will not be studying any further. The achievement expenses are about \$10.00, plus the SAT in May of the junior year is another \$6.50. Then in the senior year he will want, in many cases, to repeat the SAT and take some further achievements.

Additional Concerns

Admissions counselors also have to deal with the question of pre-freshman programs. There are many such programs. The State of New York has higher education programs that provide an opportunity for minority students who need a head start. From the transcript and the quality of the school you can determine who needs a compensatory program. They may lack certain verbal or mathematic skills. But also the student may need important social and psychological factors strengthened. The campus is a very different place from the reservation. This six week program provides time for the student to become aware of the environment, how to function in it, and what some of the people are like. He gets to know what the goals and expectations of the college are going to be. He can adjust himself at a time when the academic pressure is not intense. These pre-freshman programs can be extremely helpful in your admission decision, and give the students a chance for academic success.

I do not know what else we will develop as time goes by. Recommendations from professionals in the school can be important. We urge anyone the student thinks appropriate to write his recommendations. If you know the leadership of the Indian community, you can contact them and get their personal recommendations as well. This is another good reason to have a working relationship with the leadership.

A further question that admissions officers have to work with in a peripheral way is the question of finances. The financial capacity and ability to pay for his education has nothing whatever to do with our decision of matriculating a student. The State of New York has grants for those Indians who live on the reservation. Available to Indians are Regents scholarships, Scholar Incentive awards, Education Opportunity Programs, the BIA funds and private donations which have

been solicited.

In conclusion I want to quote an Apache school board member who said: "All of us have limitations when it comes to functioning effectively and efficiently in this world. An imaginary line seems to extend across the Indian's path, the space to the line represents the Indian life way. Beyond it, those of the non-Indian ways. Because of education, our children should be able to function on the other side of that imaginary line." Our job in admissions is to irradiate that imaginary line by identifying and by admitting those Indian persons who, in our judgement, can succeed.

DISCUSSION

Arnold Chapman: Do you feel that non-minority personnel can competently assess the qualities of minority candidates for admission to college?

Sharrow: It depends on the amount of experience the admissions counselor has had with interviewing minority students. To be sure, the first year person in the admissions office ought not to be given the responsibility of being the lone interviewer. It is not easy, even after years of experience. One needs an open mind and an understanding developed through these preliminary contacts we have discussed. The student, his parents, and the people involved on the education committees are all important contacts that can play significant parts in paving the way to the interview.

Malcolm Lavery: As far as admissions criteria, what are you looking for in high school programs and College Board scores?

Sharrow: Americans have a great proclivity for numbers. St. Lawrence University does not have any specific requirements for admissions. At one time we had backed ourselves into a corner when we carefully prescribed that you had to have four years of English, four years of science, three years of social studies, etc. We do not do this any more. Our job is not to keep good people out of the university. Our job is to admit people. We do not want to miss out on any good people. The candidate's transcript must simply show experiences and skills which indicate that he has a reasonable chance to succeed in the educational setting. Being a liberal arts college, we are looking for something a little different than an engineering school might be looking for.

As for the College Board scores, the class of 1975 at St. Lawrence had combined scores for math and verbal ranging from 950 to 1550 (tests are graded from 200-800 with the average about 500). We have a full range of scores. We know there is less reliability in the boards; it is the least important of all the admissions criteria.

John Chapple: The Admissions Committee did not go into specific admissions criteria. We did not consider standard test scores, rank in class and other indicators simply because of the variations within the schools involved in this institute. We agreed that there were three main prerequisites. One was that the institution had to be committed. Second was that there was a need for an ombudsman who would know how to cut through the bureaucracy. Of particular note, however, was the need for flexibility at each individual institution.

Chris Tibbits: How does your pre-freshman program relate to the standard academic program?

Sharrow: Part of the understanding with the Higher Education

Leo Nolan, Dick Frost, Phyllis Dunn, Jean Dingee.



Opportunity Program which we operate here is that we are not going to count the six week session prior to the freshman year. We can hopefully accomplish some limited objectives. We have a complete tutoring program available to the pre-freshman, we let him carry a tailored academic load, and we have a director and counselors in the HEOP program ready to help him. After a certain period of time, and our experience with the program has not been long enough to discover what that length of time is, our developmental people will be expected to achieve at a level consistent with the general population of the school.

Robert Wells: We have a higher retention rate among our HEOP students than we have for the college as a whole. They are moving along. They are not doing extremely well, but they do have a grade point range of 1.75 to a 3.0.

Sharrow: Our success has been modest to date. We can and will do more with this program. It is growing and is now being supplemented by the Upward Bound program and Operation Kanyengehaga.

There are some obvious things we can do to develop an informal situation as we did last year with the parents and the seniors who planned to go to college. All the jargon, the whole concept of competitive admissions, the college boards, rank in class, and all the other things that are so commonly used by admissions personnel are so foreign to the Indian community. You must give them the necessary information about what is expected. Not in a formal presentation. Invite them to the college, let them use the facilities, let them stay in the dorms to get to know the school. We are fortunate to have the tutoring program which is an excellent vehicle for getting to know the students and for letting the students know something about our school.

Tibbits: What kind of relationship do you have with the Salmon River officials?

Sharrow: We know the people there at the district. We know the situation because it is so close to home. We have worked with the guidance counselors on campus. We visit the school.

Arliss Barss: Have you had any contact with Indians from other parts of the state?

Sharrow: We are just getting started. We haven't launched a big recruitment campaign. We haven't had Indians from other parts of the state as involved in our program. We do, however, have an Indian girl from western New York coming in our freshman class.

Wells: One of the things we are concerned about is interference. I gave explicit instructions to the admissions officers to stay off the reservations. I didn't want them to go onto the reservations and to have the Indian community think that our purpose was to drag students to St. Lawrence. I think it is a secondary consideration on the part of St. Lawrence whether the Indian students come here or not. Our prime goal in this situation is to help the Indian community with whatever they define as important. Of course, they have defined education as being important. The tutoring and library programs have been an outgrowth of that. Indian students are attending school here. But it doesn't really make any difference where they attend. Our job is to provide better information, improve their preparedness, and develop better links between the educational and Indian communities. Then the student will know

what program he wants and have a greater opportunity to realize it. We need to tell these people what is available. Colleges should look at this question, not so much as going to the reservation to recruit Indian students for their college, but as a chance to speak with the Indian community and talk of realistic goals for higher education as a service. I think you will find an improved identification of Indian students as a by-product if you do a good job of servicing the Indian community. As John Cook says, they are not going to trust you to begin with and they are not going to be particularly expressive whether you are doing a good job or not.

We are fortunate in this state that there are a lot of active educational groups on the reservations and in the urban areas. You can make contact and establish a rapport in some type of informal meeting.

Sharrow: The word is not recruitment. Counseling is the word that probably best describes what our objectives are. We are not trying to specifically represent St. Lawrence. It is more of a fiduciary relationship where we make known the various opportunities that are available.

Tibbits: One of the recommendations of the Curriculum Committee which could be applied here was that schools serving the same region could coordinate their services to the Indian population of the region.

John Larsen: I have some question in my mind that I, as a recruiting officer in college admissions, can make a decision for any individual that Stevens Point is the best place for the student to go. There is a subtle distinction between advise and counseling. In most instances, if the student can make his own decision, that is probably the best decision that can be made. It seems to me that you choose a college by at least visiting each school before making a decision. Probably some of the best advice that students can get is from other students. You might say, "Have you considered such and such a school?"

I can't make any appointments for them. Young people need to do some things for themselves. When they get to school and the student is used to support and suddenly some of it is not available at a critical time in his life, there is a real adjustment that has to be made. I think you have to put some responsibility on the student.

Art Einhorn: When talking to students who do not find a program that they really want at your institution, you should not drop them at that point entirely. You might send a letter of recommendation to the school he is interested in. At least you might pave the way between the school and the student and let him go on under his own power. We have got to get rid of institutional egotism.

Dennis Brida: Is there a large segment of the Indian community that is anti-college oriented who would be against their children going on to college? Is there also a group that views the white college administrators with suspicion?

Lyman Pierce: It depends on the reservation. On the Allegany-Cattaraugus Reservation there is the Seneca Nation Educational Foundation. They have a Board of Directors, an administrative counselor and two full-time staff members. They have also 1.8 million dollars invested. The organization I'm affiliated with does college counseling through its youth council.

At this point in time, we need Indian counselors; Indians

who can do the liaison work. These counselors would not only help sensitize the schools that are going to be working with these Indian students, but they could disseminate the information to the Indian community and the Indian student. There are already Indian agencies working in the communities. We need an Indian education department that can do the job right. But, as always, the academic community or the state has someone else take care of our affairs.

In 1968 there were 142 Indians in post-secondary education in New York. There will be 160 this fall from just Tuscarora and Allegany-Cattaraugus Reservations alone. Counseling for these students needs to be improved. The guidance people are so unfamiliar with the Indian young people that they are not doing their job with them. An Indian youngster will not go to a guidance counselor's office to get help. You must seek him out. More than that, the Indian student is not going to immediately tell you what his problem is. But if he has confidence and trust in you, he will relate to you. Before that happens you have got to know him as a person. Sensitizing needs to be done in terms of educating and informing. We are people with diverse needs. We are people with a lot to share. We need to get our Indian students to operate with enough emotional strength so that they can take their Indianness with them and still compete in the mainstream of American society.

Brida: I went to two high schools this fall to speak to some Indian students. At Lafayette, the guidance counselor told me in advance that most of the Indians wanted to go to vocational school or in the service. According to him, they had no interest at all in college and I might just as well not bother coming to Lafayette. We went there anyway and found that it just wasn't that way. The Indian students were ill-advised as to when to apply to colleges, what colleges to apply to, where to get financial aid, when to take the standard exams, etc. If we want to talk to Indians about higher education, where do we find the vehicle by which we can disseminate the information, how do we meet the Indian student and build a rapport with him so that he doesn't think we are just another college trying to get a token Indian on the campus? This is a problem we consistently run into.

Pierce: The guidance counselor at Lafayette is not alone in his stereotyping of Indians. This fall we are starting a program to enlighten them — the guidance counselors and the teachers. But I still think that in this fluctuating period, right now, it would be good for the academic community to hire Indian counselors to work with his community until there is a better understanding of the Indian.

Larry Lazore: The St. Lawrence approach is good. It is an all-around interest. This leads to a better understanding of the community. They start working with the youngsters in the lower grades so the students get an idea of what education is about.

Joan Fagerburg: We have a more massive problem because at Northern Arizona University we had close to 130 Indians enrolled last year. Educating Indian students in Arizona is a larger problem. I think all of the traditional people, without exception, are very proud of their children and grandchildren who are in higher education. The intertribal group at the university believes that the students are the ones who should

be doing the admissions counseling and we agree with them. These young people go to the reservations and the high schools and talk to the prospective students. They make the recruiting plans themselves. They write the schools, make appointments, and host the students at the university for a visit. One thing that they want to do this year, and I hope they are successful, is bring more traditional parents to the campus for a visit. Then the parents can be even more proud. At graduation last year, dozens and dozens of traditional Navajos came to see their children go through the commencement exercises. This is one problem that couldn't be solved before. The traditional parents just wouldn't come to the campus. But the students got them there. They are the ones that have to do it. They are the ones that have to get the Indian peoples interested.

Ernest Krag: Does Salmon River High School have any Indian counselors?

Minerva White: No. I am the Indian counselor and I don't work for Salmon River.

Krag: How are Indian students at Salmon River counseled in regard to higher education? I am aware that a lot of students are normally counseled away from college.

M. White: The Salmon River School System uses the tracking system. Beginning in the lower grades, you are telling the students what they can and cannot do.

Krag: I am sure that you are aware that there is a lot of dissatisfaction with this method. At the age of seven or eight you are setting a student's life.

Lavery: This pertains in college, too. We like to try and guide a student to take a first year schedule of courses that will prepare him to fulfill any degree requirement. Many times when a student first gets to college he thinks he is sure about what he wants to do. But after exposure to other things, he changes his mind. So you have to be careful that he doesn't lock himself into any particular program too early.

Wayne Barkley: I visited a counselor at Salmon River and told him that I would like to explain our program to some students. He didn't think that there were any Indian students interested. I asked if I could talk to some anyway but he said no. He told me he'd call if he found any interest.

Lazore: This same thing happened to the Potsdam official.

M. White: This is one of the reasons for the Library-Cultural Center. We can set up our own meetings. I know for a fact that half of the students don't even want to talk to the guidance counselors.

Leo Nolan: The shy Indian student doesn't know the right questions to ask, especially when confronted with a white admissions counselor. If schools are sincere, they should go out and get qualified Indian personnel.

M. White: I also think it would be nice to have the admissions people know the financial aid people in the colleges. When I make phone calls to a school, I get referred from person to person before I finally find the person who can answer my question.

Chapple: That could be dependent upon the size of the institution. Possibly a central information bureau, as has been recommended, could make out lists with the proper people to



Mal Lavery

contact for specific kinds of questions at each college.

Tibbits: That might help on campuses that are relatively static, but on larger, more fluid campuses it would be impractical. On the larger campuses an individual contact would be more valuable. Someone along the lines of the ombudsman that was recommended would know who to turn to for information.

Krag: It is quite apparent that there are many programs that no one knows about. There isn't any compendium. I wonder if there is anyone who is well enough informed to counsel a student. There seem to be so many sources, a lack of communication and a lot of conflicting information. We need to get this information to the admissions and financial aids people.

What is the role of the BIA? Everyone laughs when it is mentioned. Are they just the repository of everything that is incompetent and obstructionist or do they have a real function? Wouldn't they be interested in this?

Maribel Printup: The BIA has many areas. In New York State we intend to help in this area. But the program is very new. This year the BIA is going to give supplemental assistance through the Higher Education Assistance Program. This was made known in February, so I got a late start on it. Another program was approved last week, the Employment Assistance Program. This, too, is a supplemental program. Along with the Indian Business Development Program, these are the only programs now offered to New York State Indians through the BIA.

Brida: I think it might be beneficial if I quickly described the admissions process for the State University System. There is a common application. By checking off that they are applying under the Educational Opportunity Program (and by having the guidance counselor verify this), there is no application fee. With no application fee, the Indian student can apply to as many state schools as he wants with no monetary penalty. All state schools also have in common the requirement to take a standardized test. Either the New York State Regents Examination, the Standard Achievement Test (College Boards), or the American College Test will be accepted. For the Regents Exam, just in the course of taking that exam you can get the total cost of tuition at a state school deferred depending on your family income. I have found several instances where

Indian students weren't told to take the exam. What they generally do is announce at school that all students planning to go to college should take this exam. There is no attempt to inform students of its importance. It is a free examination. Most students can take the SAT free under economic hardship circumstances. So it is possible to apply to a state school, and even to some private schools, without any expenditure. The problem is letting people know what the procedures are.

If a student is applying for financial aid, it is also necessary to file a Parents' Confidential Statement. The schools allocate their aid funds according to the needs of each student as indicated by this financial statement.

Lavery: If a financial aids officer knows ahead of time, they can evaluate this form themselves and save the disadvantaged student the cost of filing the form with the Educational Testing Service.

Nolan: The Indian parents have to have the confidentiality of this form explained to them. They need to know why it is important.

Chapple: The system isn't perfect. It is better than what we had. I agree that it does scare some people off. Again, this is a problem of communication. If they understand the reason for it and can be shown that they stand to benefit from it, they will probably not be so distrustful.

Wells: It is difficult in the Indian community, the black community and the disadvantaged white community to go in and explain why you need to know these things. The legacy of mistrust, unkept promises, forced subjugation and a shifting policy of cynical self-interest have made it difficult to build lines of communication with the Indian community.

Lucius Gotti: In the last analysis, the financial aids officer uses his discretion. We get all the information that we can get from other sources if the parents won't fill out these forms.

Ernie Benedict: How is a high school equivalency diploma considered in admissions?

Sharrow: It is perfectly acceptable. The question is going to be what academic program the person is interested in and what skills he has acquired in some other capacity that will make it likely that he will succeed in that program. We just want to be sure that the applicant's expectations are realistic.

Chapple: For the veteran who wants to go back to school, we will almost ignore his high school record. If a man goes back to work and can't get a promotion, this increases his motivation in college. The retention rate among these groups is very high.

Nolan: We look into a student's grade achievements but we also require that the student have three letters of recommendation and an autobiography. We can understand them better that way.

Chapple: Such folders can be used in a meaningful way but many times collected biographies and letters never get used. Have you found that letters of recommendation from tribal leaders or persons with great prestige in the community create an embarrassing situation if the student is not accepted?

Nolan: This has not happened yet. I don't know just how we would handle it. We would hold the recommendation of a tribal leader very high; much higher than someone in the school, a teacher perhaps, who only knew this student in class.

The Elements and Problems In "Packaging" Financial Aids

Explanation of Federal Programs
by Charles Rainey

There are four primary financial assistance programs on the federal level. Three of these programs — the National Defense Student Loan, the Educational Opportunity Grant and the College Work-Study Program — are administered by the office of financial aids at the respective colleges while the fourth, the Insured Student Loan, is conducted primarily through private lending institutions.

The first three programs come under my jurisdiction. In these programs the federal government provides all or most of the money to the respective educational institutions to be allocated to students. None of the programs named are targeted to any specific minority group. They are targeted to what many people call the majority group — the needy.

In 1958, as a direct result of the launching of the now famous "Sputnik," the National Defense Education Act was passed. Its title bears no relation to the nature of the program whatsoever. The key section of the measure was the National Defense Student Loan program. This is the oldest of the assistance programs and it is still basically the same program now as it was in 1958. The federal government provides 90 percent of the funds and each institution provides the other ten percent irrespective of whether it is a public or private school. Depending on the amount of funding the school can obtain from the government, private funds and their own resources, the institution makes long-term, low interest loans to its students. The term of the loan is a maximum of ten years, no interest while the students are in school, no interest until nine months after they terminate their education by graduation or other means, and three percent simple interest on the remainder of the unpaid balance of the loan.

At its inception, the loan was directed primarily to provide funds for math and science students. The rationale was to produce more mathematicians and scientists to build American sputniks. It was also reasoned that teachers were needed in these fields so let's encourage teachers. At that time you had to give preference to the students entering these fields in allocating the loan funds. Need really came second. You found people who wanted to be scientists, mathematicians and teachers and then located the needy ones.

Presently, the NDSL is applied equally to any student who has need. There is no income guideline, no ceiling, no income

which is prohibited from getting the loan. The sole criteria is based on "needs analysis." If the need exists, and if the institution has the funds, the loan will be made. A student may borrow up to \$1,000 per year to a maximum at the undergraduate level of \$5,000. The maximum figure allows for special five year programs such as engineering. At the graduate level a student can borrow up to \$2,500 a year to a maximum combined total of \$10,000 for graduate and undergraduate work.

When a student borrows from an institution, St. Lawrence for instance, he pays it back to St. Lawrence. St. Lawrence will then loan the money to another student. If a student takes a loan and then goes into teaching, ten percent of his loan and the interest for each year he teaches up to five years (50% of the loan) will be forgiven, that is, cancelled. No matter what the amount of the original loan. Some areas of each state are classified as high poverty areas. Every state is allowed to classify 25 percent of its schools as high poverty, high impact or low income areas. For each year that an individual teaches in a school so classified, all the interest and 15 percent of the loan will be forgiven up to a maximum of 100 percent. There is now also a military cancellation clause. A person joining the service after July 1, 1970 will have 12½ percent of the loan and all interest cancelled for each year of service up to a maximum of 50 percent.

The next program to be initiated was part of the war on poverty. The government envisioned a program in which students could work to pay part of their college expenses with the federal government paying most of the wages. This is the College Work-Study Program. In this program, the government pays up to 80 percent of the student's salary for a maximum of 15 hours of work during full-time class attendance and 40 hours when he is not studying. Although educationally related work is considered the optimum use of the funds, it is not necessary to do so. There is no limit to the amount of money that a student can earn in a year. The maximum hourly wage is \$3.50, however. Most do not earn that wage.

The third program is another part of the war on poverty. When the Office of Economic Opportunity was reorganized, College Work-Study and the Economic Opportunity Grant were passed to the Office of Education. Under the renamed

Educational Opportunity Grant, the student can receive up to \$1,000 a year in grant money. There are no requirements to do any work or to make any repayment. The Educational Opportunity Grant is a target grant. It is primarily for the very needy. There is an income ceiling of \$9,000 gross income regardless of where it comes from. The parent contribution to qualify for the EOG must be less than \$625 per year.

New York State is a pioneer in the guaranteed or governmentally insured student loan while the federal government is a late arrival on the scene. Under this program, a student can borrow up to \$1,500 per year from a local lending institution — a bank, savings and loan association, credit union — with the government guaranteeing repayment. There is no forgiveness in this program, the total amount of the loan must be paid back. If adjusted gross income is below \$15,000, the student pays no interest until after nine months from the termination of his education. After nine months, he then begins repayment of the loan at \$30 per month plus seven percent simple interest. This year there will be one billion dollars worth of student aid guaranteed by the government.

Financial Aids Officers always use the term "packaging." This term means putting all the available resources together to meet the student's needs. The student's and parents' contributions are supplemented by any one or combination of jobs, loans or scholarships from private, public, or the institution's own resources.

Federal monies in the programs I have discussed are not specifically targeted to any minority or ethnic group. However, and this may be a sad commentary on America, it is these groups which do, in fact, receive the funds in the most significant amounts. I would advise all students to consult with the financial aids officers of their prospective college or colleges to formulate the best program for the individual. This must be done at the beginning of the year as aid funds are allocated early. With respect to Indians in particular, it is especially wise to apply early since at this point many aid officers will be unfamiliar with all the nuances of Indian aid and you need to give them time to compile the necessary information.

DISCUSSION

John Kenny: Needs analysis is a three way street. It involves the student, the parent, and the college. By comparing the Parents' Confidential Statement or some similar form against the expenses of the college, financial aid officers are able to determine who is responsible for what amount. The PCS will be reviewed for a statement of the parents' contribution. If we believe that the estimate is reasonable, and the family is not going to be unduly pressed to meet the estimate, then that is the parents' contribution. Secondly, the student is responsible for summer employment and one-fifth of his assets up to \$2,000 to help meet college expenses. The remainder of the costs, if any, the financial aids officer will try to meet with a package — job, loan and grants from various sources. At St. Lawrence, expenses of \$4,600 must be met.

Chris Tibbits: The student expense budget used by the state financial aids offices is \$2,650. The way the state financial aids offices are directed to work is that they must use outside resources first. For example, veteran's benefits, vocational rehabilitation, private grants and scholarships. The assumption is that any resources secured from outside sources will reduce the amount necessary for a loan. In practice, it depends on how many students are in the Educational Opportunity Program, how much need there is among those students, and how much aid in the form of grant money is available to them.

I think it is important to remember that we have a number of students whose educational expenses are maybe \$2,650 but whose life situations call for more funding per year — people with children and people with other dependents. We do try to get them more money to make it possible for them to stay in school. We cannot and do not use grant money for this.

When this legislation was passed the assumption was that money would be provided so any student who was admitted through the EOP Program would not have to take a loan for at least the first two years of school. The rationale was that if the student could not complete school, he would not be saddled with more debt. The assumption underlying that was once a student got to his third year he would finish school. In the

Robert Wells, Chris Tibbits, Larry Lazore



third year the student's financial aids package would begin to show some loans. Paying back the loans was not considered as great a burden if one had a college degree. In reality, we are finding that more of our grant monies are being used. It's harder to fully fund students.

Jim Fritze: I often wonder how a student who is eligible for money through different sources can get it all pulled together. There are a number of agencies that have the philosophy that if a student is eligible for funds from another agency then they do not have to provide any aid. The other agencies think likewise. So they all sit back and see who is going to provide for the student.

Larry Lazore: While the bureaucracy is doing all this arguing over who is going to finance who, the Indian student is left sitting there. It is hard on him because he doesn't know what it is all about or what is going to happen. The man in financial aids should be able to give the Indian student a concrete answer.

Leo Nolan: The recruiter should know financial aids.

Tibbits: One point that should be remembered is that when we say we can fully fund a student, we are including loans.

Bill Laughing: The financial advisor at the school I attended only had loans to offer me for financial assistance. I was already in debt and I wasn't about to get any deeper in debt. Therefore, when the semester ended I went home because I didn't have any more money to go to school. New York State has a program for Indians in the amount of \$1,100 a year, but when you are feeding three and paying high rent it isn't too easy to make ends meet.

Later, I enrolled at Hartwick College. They had a private foundation that promised me \$1,000 as an Indian student there. I started in June and for the summer they gave me \$333 to pay for my expenses. When the fall semester began, they told me that I couldn't have the rest of the thousand dollars because I had been awarded a Regents Scholarship which combined with the New York State Indian Aid amounted to \$2,000. They figured that I only needed \$2,300. They were kind enough to let me keep the \$33. At the same school I met a couple of other Indian boys, one of whom had been going to Hartwick periodically for five or six years. With this foundation there were strings attached to the scholarships. The \$1,000 grant is given providing that you finish school at Hartwick. If you go to another school, you must pay back one-third. That is why if the student drops out or is suspended academically, he will return to the same school whether he likes it or not.

Robert Wells: Loans do not do the Indian any real service. It just hangs over his head. He may be home during the summer not working for his education, but rather working to keep his family afloat. As one of the breadwinners, he has a tough time because he's away at school a substantial part of the year. And to a certain extent, the Indian community may look at this with some displeasure. Some students may even have to attend school during the summer for developmental work.

Leo Nolan: If a student goes to summer school, is financial aid available for that part of school? Some schools sever their ties with these students in all the supportive aspects after their sophomore year. These schools feel that the students are part

of the system by then.

Wells: When St. Lawrence solicited private money to support our Indian students and also for our other developmental students, we said we consider two summer sessions as integral to their program and that they should be funded for the summer in terms of tuition, room and board. Otherwise, you are not doing the students any service.

Dennis Brida: Concerning the \$1,100 state money, the application is an intricate process. The Indian student must have three letters of recommendation from community members and three recommendations from the school system which serves the reservation which the applicant must reside on. By checking with the Bureau of Elementary Education headed by Segerstrom, I found out that they have a limited budget. It is composed of state and federal funds. The members of the bureau decide how much money they are going to put toward Indian aid. They also decided to make the on-reservation Indian stipulation for one reason — lately there have been more and more Indians applying for this aid. They have never used up the total amount of money so there hasn't been a problem with denying students the aid. They have never denied any on-reservation Indian the state aid as of yet. They can in the future. If a great many on-reservation Indians apply for the aid, they may not all be funded.

Now if a student does not reside on one of these nine reservations, they told me he would not get the aid. On occasion they do make exceptions. What they'll do is look at the application to see if the Indian looks promising. What it comes down to is that if funds are still available, they will grant the student the aid. I was told that any Indian who has applied for state aid has gotten it so far, but it may not be the case in the future; it is not an automatic thing.

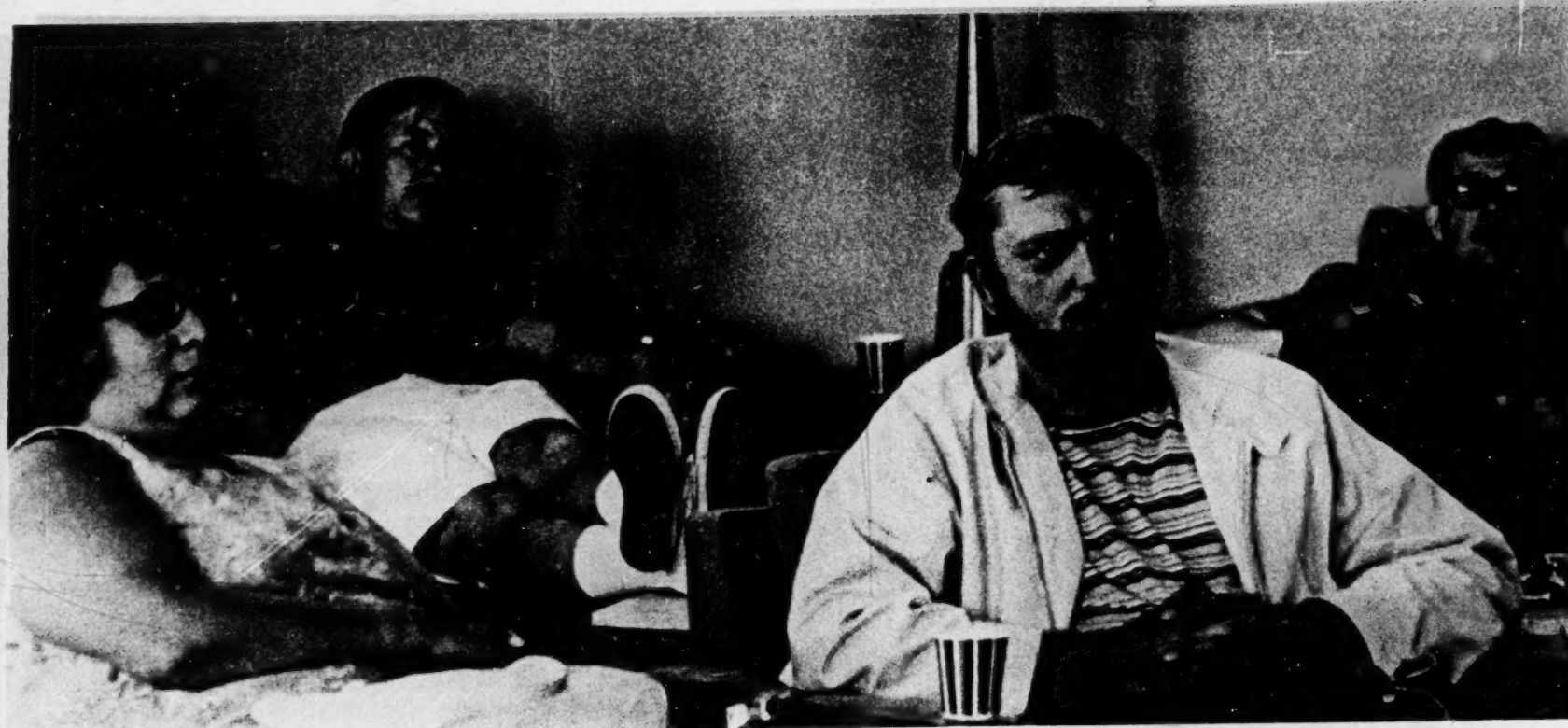
Arnold Chapman: Isn't the funding level supposed to be raised a certain amount every year? It has been in the past and it is supposed to in the future.

Brida: It was supposed to increase according to the cost of living, but it hasn't been raised this year.

There are certain things in the law that haven't been enforced up to this point but which could become factors in the future. One is the requirement that all applications for student aid must be filed by April 1 of each year. In order to apply for this aid you must have been accepted at a college. Not all students are admitted by April 1. Before a student goes to a college he must know what his financial aid is going to be. So far they haven't paid any attention to the April 1 deadline. In the future, though, they are going to have more applications and not enough money and they will make a firm cut-off at the April 1 deadline.

James Overfield: Has anyone here received a notice that the Indian aid for this year, 1971-72, will be \$1,100? As an individual in a public school where Indian children attend, to my knowledge there has been no notification saying what the aid per student per year will be. Through personal contacts with some of the people here I am aware that the aid has been set, but other than that I wouldn't have known. And if I don't know this as an administrator in an Indian school, how many financial aids officers will know about this aid?

Minerva White: Last year at the Iroquois Conference the State



Arliss Barss, John Chapple

Education Department officials told us that the aid would be raised to \$1,250 this year. I called up recently to find out and they told me that it was not going to be raised.

Overfield: But the point is that we shouldn't have to call them. We should know this; they should have notified us.

Maribel Printup: One of the biggest problems with the state aid is that they wait until the student is in school to send a voucher to us. The student doesn't get a check until October or sometimes until November for the Fall semester. When they go to register the school officials don't recognize the acceptance letter as adequate proof of having the financial aid. It takes quite a few phone calls to Ann Lewis in the Bureau of Elementary Education to get this straightened out. The gap in communications is in the financial aids office itself. They pave the way with the registrar and the other offices. For some reason the Indian aid does not seem to get included in the financial aids package. Just the fact that the funds haven't arrived on campus is not nearly as much of a problem as the fact that the school officials aren't counting them as on the way. With other aid funds, NDSL and the Regents Scholarships, there is a lag in their arrival on campus.

Martha Cook: I went to college in the 1963-64 school year. Before I went to school, I was told that I would be fully funded and that I would have no financial problems. When I got there it was a different story. I was put on the carpet as to why my Indian aid money hadn't arrived. It was quite upsetting. The school officials had all the letters and information right there in front of them and they couldn't see it. I had to point out to them that the money would be coming and that should have been the end of it. But it wasn't. Toward the end of the first semester I figured that I wouldn't have enough money to register for the second semester. I went to the dean and asked for a deferred payment plan. He said that I didn't need any money, that I had plenty. We checked it out at the business office. The business office said that I had \$100 left over and that I didn't need to worry. When I came back to register second semester, however, they told me I couldn't because I didn't have enough money. For an Indian girl away from home for the first time, it was very discouraging. The

college officials didn't seem to know that this Indian aid was supposed to be there. They hounded me for it. Second semester they called me down to the business office every other week. I had no idea where to go or who to talk to. I didn't know what to do about the problem. First semester I had made the Dean's List, but the second semester I didn't make it and for me this was quite a blow. I quit college after the first year.

Josephine Tarrant: One of our girls, Matoaka Eagle, was born in upstate New York and raised there. We are giving her a scholarship. She applied for the state aid but not being a reservation Indian from New York State she was not eligible. Indians who live in the city who are not on a reservation or who are not on the tribal rolls don't have the opportunities for getting aid.

John Cook: The BIA grants would be available to her. Maribel Printup is in charge of the New York State grants. All that is needed is verification of one-quarter Indian blood. This is separate from the New York statutory money.

Lazore: It was basically offered for urban Indians. The idea was that there are a lot of Indians in your position who are living in the city with no scholarship aid whatsoever from the state.

Printup: The involvement of the BIA in New York is very limited. We have an office here because many Indian families needed assistance. Among our activities, we have two scholarship programs. One, just made available earlier this year, is the higher education program. The other program is sponsored through the employment assistance branch. This is for vocational schools.

In the higher education program we have \$70-75,000 for the entire state this year. This can only be used on a supplemental basis to help as many Indian students as we can. There are four parts to the application procedure. First, request the application form. Then get certification from a recognized chief or clerk that the applicant is at least one-quarter Indian. Also, it must be certified that the applicant is affiliated with a tribe, that he lives or has lived on



Leo Nolan

a reservation. The financial aids office has to send a processed financial aid form which gives the student's budget, his resources, and what is lacking that we must supplement. Mr. Kenny showed you this booklet on Scholarships for American Indian Youths and I think every financial aids office and every high school counselor should have it. The BIA puts out a newsletter on higher education and this is nationwide.

Fritze: Does the Bureau of Indian Affairs have any feeling for the two year colleges and the way the two year colleges can meet the needs of the Indian students? I am speaking of junior colleges, community colleges and technical schools.

Printup: As far as the technical schools are concerned, the Bureau has received a lot of criticism that they have been trying to orient the Indian students more to vocational schools than college. There is more of an emphasis on the college program. There is no barrier to where he can apply. If he is accepted, we have to find some funds for him. The applications have to be complete before any decisions can be made. This year the program is so late in starting that they just keep extending the deadline. I would hope that next year all the high school students would meet their application deadlines. They must send their applications in by November so that they can meet the deadlines for federal funding.

Ernie Krag: In a number of two year schools there are liberal arts programs that minimize the cultural differences and the differences in high school preparation. The adjustment is not as great as in the four year school. The Indian student can get a chance to cut his teeth at a slower pace, build up his confidence, get the feeling that he can do it and then transfer to a four year school. This function of the two year school as something to build upon should be brought out. It isn't so technical that you're going to be able to paint a house or fix a motor.

Arliss Barss: I have a very particular question about a specific case of mine. There is an Indian who will be coming to school in Buffalo this September. He's a young adult who is returning to school. He was born in Camden, New York. Both of his parents are full blooded Canadian Cayugas. He asked me whether he was eligible for the state aid because it makes a

difference whether he will be able to attend school. Now Albany won't answer that question for me; they say put it on paper and maybe it'll pass through. I can't maybe anything to him because he's looking for some positive direction. I don't want to mislead him, but if he has a chance to get this money I am willing to do the paper work. Now I'm not trying to fleece the state. I'm trying to be careful about promising the student any money and not being able to deliver if the money doesn't come through.

Lazore: I think you have a good point there. You can't promise Indian students financial assistance, or any assistance, and not be able to follow through. Because to the Indian student, it's just another slap in the face; well, here we go again, the same old thing that happened to my ancestors. You are promised the moon and you get nothing. This drives them further down into the depths. This happens frequently in regard to financial assistance. The money is there but the Indian can't get a hold of it right away. All of you know about all the red tape that has to be followed through to get financial assistance. The Indian can't see this. He's had a promise made to him and if the money isn't there right away, it's another broken promise by the non-Indian.

Barss: Harold Segerstrom of the Bureau of Elementary Education contends that an Indian from a reservation is more deserving than an Indian from an urban area. I'm an Indian whether I'm from Buffalo, Cattaraugus, or the middle of the ocean. He says that it is state policy to fund reservation Indians but that Indians who have become urbanized should exempt themselves from tribal gifts.

Lyman Pierce: I have some questions on this that I would like to research. Most states contract with the federal government for money to come through the state down to the local level. I'm not sure where New York State gets its money for Indian education. They say in their yearly report that New York State is doing it. But according to the Harvard Law School in conjunction with the NAACP, there are three federal funds that go into the states for Indian education in public schools. If this is the case, then New York State cannot really stipulate that those funds must stay in New York. They should not be localized. The Indians who live in New York City should be partakers of this funding.

Lazore: People are led to believe that this is a gift New York State is giving to the Indian, that they are so progressive in dealing with Indian education. It is not a gift. It is in the treaties New York has made for all the land they have taken away from the Iroquois Indian Nation. Back in 1919, an agreement was signed by the governor allocating \$10,000 for the building of a high school on the St. Regis Reservation. There's no high school and no one has seen the \$10,000 yet. It all goes back to what I have mentioned before. This is the basic problem that has to be cleared up throughout the United States: do the states and does the United States recognize the treaties made with the Indians?

Regarding your question, Arliss, about the Cayuga student, New York State made this treaty with the Iroquois. The Cayugas are one brother of the Iroquois Nation. He's a Cayuga; there is no borderline. According to government treaty, there are no borderlines for the Indians of North America.

Lucius Gotti: This application for BIA funds is another application procedure. The student must repeat the entire application process?

Printup: Yes.

Yvonne Robinson: In the Financial Aids Committee we were all in agreement that the federal government should provide every Indian student with a minimum grant regardless of financial need. Then, in addition, we talked about further supplemental funding. We could not reach a total agreement on whether this funding should also be provided regardless of financial need.

Harry Richards: Some of us thought that there should be a need criteria. If not, realistically speaking, aren't you depriving another needy student if there is a limited amount of funding available?

Robinson: Support for not favoring the stipulation of a need criteria for this supplemental funding was based on the argument that the federal government was responsible for the Indian's education according to the various treaties that had been concluded between the two parties. There was disagreement on the committee because there is no standard treaty. Although many treaties provided for the education of Indians, some were with the federal government, some were with the states, some Indians haven't concluded any treaties, and some treaties have no educational provision. We were informed that both the BIA and the HEW are allocated funds to educate Indian students. No one seems to be accountable for these funds in regard to where, when, why or who.

Joan Fagerburg: Every year the BIA changes their applications and they don't give anyone any advance warning. I think this makes it even more essential that financial officers give the Indian students personal assistance in filing his forms.

Another thing is that I think the BIA can afford to have more counselors. They have a lot of money and they never spend it all during the year. The reason is that the BIA wants the college and the tribal groups to commit themselves on how much money they are going to spend assisting a student and then the BIA will supplement those monies with the minimum

amount necessary.

Art Einhorn: That is one type of problem, but here is one of a different type. You have an Indian boy who is half Tuscarora and half Algonquin. His mother came from Canada. In Canada, the rights to the tribal roll are vested in the male side by Canadian law. On some reservations, including Tuscarora, the rights are vested in the female. Consequently, when you marry off the reservation, you lose your right to be on the roll. This particular family has children but the children are not statistically Indians. They are not recognized by either tribal council and they do not have the rights of either tribe. Something needs to be worked out so that these children are treated equitably by the law.

Minerva White: Not all the Indians on the St. Regis reservation are on the tribal roll.

Lincoln White: If they can establish the fact that they have Indian lineage through a search of the tribal rolls, this should serve as adequate certification that they are Native Americans. Secondly, I would agree, especially in my own case where I do live off the reservation but I am still a registered person on the St. Regis Mohawk Tribal Roll, that I am being discriminated against in terms of providing financial aid for my two sons. It is very definitely discriminatory because many people such as myself must move off the reservation to gain a livelihood.

Barss: Chief Cook mentioned yesterday that there are untold numbers of scholarships available. I'm not aware of them.

Cook: There is a lengthy list; many schools are willing to provide Indian scholarships. I would say, in answer to your problem, that we of the different tribes should get together before school starts in the fall. What is needed is some coordination.

Barss: I think that not only the elected chiefs but the traditional chiefs should be invited. We have two very different factions here. I think some students would benefit because they would receive information that they wouldn't come to a progressive chief, such as yourself, for. It would also be more readily accepted.

Cook: That was the reasoning behind our library being combined with the Council House. We thought they might not come to the Council House but maybe they would come to a library. We know how they usually think. By their logic they will say, "I'm going to the library," not, "I'm going to the Council House."

Brida: On the NDSL, why is it necessary for every student to sign an Oath of Allegiance?

Rainey: I will give you the only answer that I can give you. It is in the law. It was put in the law in 1958 and it has never been removed from the law or challenged in a court of law. You might have to go back to the mood of the country and the rationale for the original bill to get the answer.

Lazore: The Indian might have a problem in that situation.

Rainey: We find that many Indian students do not like and will not sign the oath. It is very specific in the law that federal financial aid will only be given to citizens and permanent residents of the United States.

Lazore: Well, we sure are permanent residents.

Maribel Printup





Bea Medicine

Bea Medicine: The time has passed when the white American is the authority on the Indians. I have found that Native Americans want to run their own workshops and be trained by Native Americans. There are many who are able to do this. It is this point that I want to discuss — training for self-determination.

Although money has been allocated for Indian people on reserves, this money has been misspent and misused. It is only when Indians can train the native people on the local level to be aware of these types of inequities that we will be able to offer encouragement and hope to these people that any changes will be made.

Most of the university sponsored Indian studies programs, departments and institutes start out and try to do too much. They try to cover a whole group of activities in community involvement without actually getting into the community to see what has to be done. I think this is a great pitfall. Most of these institutes write to those already in existence and copy their programs and just give them different names. It is very hard to get the administrators to see the Indian's point of view that is being advocated. From the Indian standpoint, the universities are using Indian programs as a money-getting

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Mr. Robert Thomas, a Cherokee Indian, is a research associate with the Carnegie Project with Cherokee Indians and a professor at Monteith College in Detroit, Michigan. Mr. Thomas is also a contributing editor to the American Indian Today, edited by Levine and Lurie.

gimmick. Indian people should be used in the planning and the teaching of the Native American studies programs now being developed.

Robert Thomas: Indians are ready for this. At the Indian Ecumenical Conference I saw something that I never thought I would see in my lifetime. I saw Indians get up and talk about their religion. I saw a Chippewa Medicineman pray at the fire with an audience there. That means that the older Indians have a tremendous concern. You have no idea what a revolution that is.

I'll tell you something about Indian curriculum at the university level. I haven't had the experience at an Indian institute but I ran a summer workshop for about thirteen years. We taught a six week course for Indians in college. Unless the Indian students and the surrounding Indian community are involved *together*, I don't think an Indian study program will amount to much. Two things will happen in the absence of cooperation. One is that if there isn't a generation gap among the Indians, it will create one, or, if there is one, you will widen it under those circumstances. Secondly, the Indian community will not give any social support to the students who are in school if the community is not involved. I think the Indian students need this support at school.

What can be done by universities for Indian study programs? This depends on the institutions and the people involved. One thing is the language. For most Indian tribes the most symbolic thing to them is their language. The Cherokees talk their own language and by this they are able to define the tribe. If a tribe has a written language, the university could set

A Conversation With Bea Medicine and Robert Thomas

Bob Thomas

up a course in the Indian language that the student speaks. In my tribe literacy is very important. There was a time when we lost most of our people over sixty. If we didn't have our rituals written down we wouldn't have them today. In a great number of tribes, right now, they are trying to develop a written tradition and a body of literature. It's true that once you learn to read and write in one language it is easier to learn another language.

Young people in urban areas do not know how to speak their native language and I think it is critical that they learn. If they don't, they will be in a bind because you can't be an Indian and go home and not know how to speak your own language. For a student who does not know how to speak his own language it is going to take three hours a day for a year to learn.

I think another way that Indian study programs can help is to assist the Indian in thinking through and defining his problems. Many young Indians often wonder what is it they have to do to be Indian. In North Carolina most of the Indian students go to federal boarding schools. One man I talked to down there told me that if you painted your house you were no longer a true Indian. I think some white school teacher probably told him this. I think an Indian study program can also teach the student understanding as to how the Indians create some of their own binds.

Another thing Indian institutes can do in giving the Indian awareness is to teach something about the history and the culture. Most Indian students and communities want that. And they should use Indian personnel to do the job. I am a Western scholar by training and I can tell you about Indian culture and



history. The first thing a Western scholar does is pull it all apart. We arrange it in some kind of linear progression. That is the scientific method. There is a lot of power to that way of thinking. But by itself I don't think it gives you very much understanding. That, with a couple of other things, will give you understanding but by itself it's not enough. The people who are trained in the tradition of Indian scholarship approach the teaching of Indian culture and history differently. They don't pull it all apart. The job of any Indian thinker is to make a consistency of life for the people when he speaks. He is supposed to explain how the people came to be. That is the way he deals with Indian culture and history. Any serious institute is going to have to have local experts to give this aspect, to balance the scientific analysis.

Medicine: Now there are many Native American studies programs which I could present for your examination. The department at UCLA is strictly remedial and is trying to prepare Indian students for university entrance. This is too often necessary because most Indian education on the secondary level is not attuned to getting Indian students into universities.

The University of Montana and the University of New Mexico are establishing programs that are run primarily by Indian people. When these programs are staffed by Indian people in states of significant native populations there tends to be greater involvement of the Indian people on the local level. I have found that the one at New Mexico is extremely involved with the Pueblo Indians. Many of the education committees and people who are working on the local level have input into the program.

Robert Thomas: Words like involvement and co-operation are really words of salesmanship. It means, "How do you sell people this program so they like it without objecting?"

This can be applied to the Cherokee Indian tribe. Our modern record in education is not good. The average grade level is fourth grade and over half of these Indians, who are over twenty-five, do not speak English. In the last century the Cherokee tribe had the highest educational level west of New England in both English and Cherokee with a 90 percent literacy rate in both languages.

The educational system was successful because people experimented with it all the time. It was funded from treaty money interest which was held in the United States Treasury. It was Cherokee money, with no strings attached. There was a national school board, a national school administrator and local school boards. The whole apparatus in that local community was to support that school system.

The school system was started in 1840, and it was a struggle to build. At first, all classes were in English. That did not work, so they instituted grades one through eight in English and Cherokee, with school texts in Cherokee. After the student finished the eighth grade he went to either the male or female seminary. At the seminary you could get a scholarship to a university.

My great-grandfather went to the University of Edinburgh, yet my grandmother could not speak one word of English because she was born at the time when the Cherokee school system was dismantled. My grandfather taught English, but none of his younger brothers did because, like my grandmother, they had dismantled the schools before they had

a chance. He said that when he went to the Cherokee seminary they had a lot of white ladies from England who were hard on the student. The people who taught in the lower grades were Cherokees because they had to be able to speak Cherokee to the young children. But all the ladies in the seminary were old puritan stock New Englanders. Nevertheless, kids went to school. It did not make any difference whether Latin and Greek fitted the Cherokee culture, or whether the school techniques fitted the Cherokee community. It was a Cherokee people's school and it was needed at that time.

The son of a man named Redbird Smith, who was a great religious leader among the Cherokees, told me once that his father used to walk to school with him with a switch in one hand and his hand in the other. Now that may not mean anything to you, but if you know how Indians relate to their children you will realize what an extreme thing that was for Redbird Smith to do. He wanted that boy to go to school, and he saw to it that he went. In those days the Cherokees had to have professionals. There were Cherokee institutions that needed professionals, like the national school board, and school administrators.

When people went off to college on a Cherokee scholarship, we did not expect any dropouts. And we did not get any dropouts. Kids got lonesome, and it was hard, but that was Cherokee money, money out of our own pocket. We gave money up for those young men, and we expected them to stay there and learn.

I want you to think about the way it is today. I can tell you that now Cherokee Indians do not have the highest English literacy rate in the United States. In fact, we have one of the lowest. What happened? There are no more Indian institutions, there are no more institutions that could possibly be a common institution between Indians and whites. Nobody is going to believe fake institutions in the State of Oklahoma that are supposed to be for the benefit of both Cherokee and whites. They just are not there. There are no professional Indians there. I cannot go back to Oklahoma and teach because I will be the white man's monkey on a string. A lot of fake-outs happen in the name of democracy, integration and ethnic studies. This same thing has been happening for the last

Art Einhorn



forty years. It is just renamed with a new label. Will there ever again be a time when we can have as much community involvement as what I have been reporting to you in the Cherokee case? That time is gone for all of us in the United States.

However, any educator with imagination can steer around that structure and involve people in the educational process. What I am trying to illustrate by this example is the story of a people who really had an educational system at one time. No one had to sit around and debate how they were going to lure the Cherokees into the school system. That was not a problem. Or, how are we going to keep them in once they get them in? Or, how much entertainment were they going to give them? It was a Cherokee school system where there was a need for young educated Cherokees. I do not know any substitute for that kind of involvement. If school systems are not run by Indians themselves, they are always going to be sold to, pitched to, conned and lured.

Medicine: The point you made about the simple renaming of old ideas is exactly what is happening in ethno-studies. This is highly dangerous for Indian people because it is not giving them an awareness of the alternatives. Their renaming is simply cloaking them over in a contrived culture while the cry for Indian involvement is being made. Many of the people involved in ethnic studies or in the grant-giving agencies do not understand what the local community is or that each Indian community is different. Many of the people in their own communities do not know the institutions and how to circumvent them. This is what I mean about training the Indian for self-determination so that they will understand these things.

What happened to all of the trained Cherokee professionals? Did they assimilate into the white society?

Thomas: No, they went back to the country. About one third of them went into the Indian Bureau, but most of the Indian professionals went back into the country.

One of the things that the modern Cherokee object to is that the schools take too much time. Who ever heard of keeping a child penned up seven or eight hours a day, supervised? That is not the way the Cherokee handle their children. We like to talk to them once in a while, take them hunting. If you are going to teach your kids many things, that takes time. When I was young the old people used to come and wake us up and talk to us. Often I stayed up all night talking to the old people, and then I would fall asleep in school.

As a social scientist I can see no reason for spending that much time in school. One of the large functions of the modern school is a baby-sitting function. If most white communities want to hire people and pay them those salaries as a baby-sitting function I have no objection, but I do not see why that should be foisted on other people who do not need that service.

One of the problems of the American people is their drive for standard techniques for standard people. There are no standard people. The right curriculum in one area is going to flop in another area. Just like studying about Indians, there are no Indians in that sense. Different people respond differently to school systems. I suppose there are some very general things you can say about American Indians. We speak of behavior out of abstract generality, but that is our job, to try to hold up

those generalities.

Medicine: So many of the people who set up programs for Indians use these generalities as a basis. For example, Indian psychology, as if there were one type.

Thomas: I cannot erect any programs for non-existent people. I may be able to generally do that, but when I meet those people I have a plan flexible enough so that I can revamp it.

The great American genius is a technological production based on ordered materials in time sequence. The American educational system is run exactly like someone was building a car. They talk about what kind of product they are going to turn out. This image comes from Detroit. I am not saying that as an Indian, but as someone who knows a little about human behavior. Education is not the same thing as building a car.

Medicine: Many present day Indian parents are products of boarding schools where they have been taken away from their backgrounds and they have not had any meaningful models to identify with. I had never been in a BIA school but my first job was teaching in one because I wanted to find out what kind of experiences these students were involved with. This age group is now the parental generation which shows a greater non-involvement in the Indian's struggle today. Another event which will tie in with this is the 1950 relocation program in which many people were removed from reservations to urban areas to find work. We have some young people in the Native American studies programs who don't know anything about their culture except that they are Indian. Many of these programs beside being remedial, also have to present a content in which every student in the department learns about his own background. This is accomplished by each student researching his own background. There are, in the parental group, cross-tribal affiliations. This causes a good deal of confusion with the student in many Native studies programs. They tend to generally identify with the tribe that their mother belonged to, but some will work with their father's tribe when doing their research.

Since Alcatraz, there have been a lot of people identifying as Indian. These people often are blacks, Phillipinos, Chicanos or whites. In my writing, I term this an identity quest.

Thomas: In any curriculum you are going to get a mixture of people. It is a pity now that you have a lot of young Indians growing up that do not have much sense of their traditional background. In that sense they are somewhat like some white students. I teach in Detroit, my students are mostly white. They think that the United States was decreed in 1946. My students have no idea who their parents are or what they did.

In Detroit, which has one of the most turbulent labor histories in the United States, there was a great struggle to achieve labor stability. The thirties were a very great time for the working people of the United States, but it was hard. My students do not know anything about this. They have no idea that the police used to ride in crowds of people and beat them to a pudding, their daddies among them.

A lot of Indian children are in the same situation. They have been enclosed in institutions most of their lives. In big, urban universities at least half the student body is on an identity quest. Not only Indians, but blacks, and whites too. A lot of curriculum culture in urban communities is really an

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TRIBE Incorporated Initiates Self-Determination Program

by TRIBE Representatives Mike Ranco,
Rick Mitchell and George Toomer

TRIBE Incorporated started back in 1969 when John Stevens thought children in Maine and in the Maritime provinces were receiving inadequate education. He estimated that there was a 90 percent Indian dropout rate in these schools. You can see why John, who was Chief of the Passamaquoddy tribe, believed that we should have our own schools where we would get more Indians to graduate and go on to college.

TRIBE is an acronym which stands for teaching and research in bicultural education. What we mean by bicultural is that we are trying to teach the kids to think Indian and to teach Indian history, culture and language in addition to the white man's education. We use the white man's education as a tool to get the things we need.

At first, the reservations were reluctant to back TRIBE Incorporated because they did not know where we were going or what we were doing. Many reservations thought it was another idea brought up by a white man which it was not. TRIBE was conceived and instituted by Indians. The public schools intimidated several reserves by suggesting that if the Indians attended TRIBE Incorporated they would get an inadequate education. A lot of reserves did not back us because we did not accomplish much in one year. But what can you do in one year?

Working With Hardcore Dropouts

Last fall we began working with twenty students, hardcore dropouts. They were the dropouts of your system. Most of these students had not reached the eighth grade but they were all determined to get some form of education. We have to start on a small scale to get on the right track to educate our students.

The juvenile courts would send us their delinquents. When we got these kids they were very bitter toward the white man. We want this bitterness to settle down because it really burdens them psychologically. It took us from November to March just to get the kids to open up to Indians. This is Indians working with Indians; imagine what it has been like for the past 300 years with the white man teaching the Indians. We taught them to develop self-confidence, to break their inferiority complexes and to curtail their drinking.

One Indian was made President of the Student Council in the public school. By his appearance you would not know he was an Indian unless he told you. He mentioned to a couple of students that he was an Indian and one week later he was ousted as president. This incident really distressed him. So he

dropped out of school and started getting into trouble. He came to TRIBE. We did not change him overnight but we did get him thinking in terms of being Indian.

Programs at TRIBE

The programs we work with at TRIBE are in the areas of teacher orientation, guidance and curriculum development. The teacher orientation program we plan to have next year will bring in teachers who teach Indians at reservation schools. Most of the reservation school teachers are brought up in the white education system and have no preparation on how to teach Indian children.

In the reservation school, the area of Indian culture is minimized. The only way I learned about my culture was from my grandfather. To foster integration, the Maine legislature has cut back the grades in the reservation school from the eighth grade to the fifth grade. The integration is diminishing the exposure to Indian culture the youngsters have been receiving because of the new, low grade level on reservations. We are now attempting to bring back the grades. This year we are bringing back the sixth grade and hopefully next year we will bring back the seventh.

The third program we worked with was a social studies critique. We have been examining all the textbooks used in public schools, especially on Indian reservations. We found many derogatory statements that make Indian students drop out of school because they do not know how to cope with this situation.

In the Maritimes, many of the French students were getting credit for French without taking a course in school. So the Indians said, why not us? This is the biggest struggle we are having right now with the BIA in Canada and in Maine, is to get our kids credited with their language. The BIA says we first have to develop a teaching method. This is difficult because most Micmac and Passamaquoddy is not written down. The Penobscots have lost their language. We never had a chance to learn the language because when we were in school we were not allowed to speak it.

We are developing a self-determination program. Some people call us a failure. How could TRIBE be a failure in six months when white men's education had been failing the Indian for 300 years? We prefer to make our own mistakes and not have the white people make them for us. It is only a planning project and it is a learning process for us. We must go at this pace. We must motivate the kids first. In TRIBE Incorporated we are trying to teach these kids to think Indian.

DISCUSSION

Rick Mitchell: There are four of us doing work-study researching the history of the Penobscots. George and I are working on the past history and two other Indians are working on the current events. We have received some money from the tribal council on the reserve and we also received \$700 dollars from TRIBE. We are attending the University of Maine and we are being sponsored by the Penobscot Indian Corporation. We have been working at the university to begin with. We'll be getting further materials at other places.

We hope to publish a book when the compilation of all the information is finished. It will be put in various libraries. Eventually we hope to start an Indian studies program and this book should prove very useful. It will also help if we get the bicultural school on the reservation. We've been working on the book for two months now and we will continue working part-time during the school year.

Larry Lazore: First I would like to say that you are making Indians feel proud of what you are doing with TRIBE. Have you ever tried to find a friendly institution and get their help as we at St. Regis do with St. Lawrence?

Mike Ranco: We are working with a private school accreditation system. The BIA came to us and told us about all the programs that can provide help for the Indians through their offices. It threw us off because they won't even look at us, they don't help us out at all.

Chris Tibbits: Indian students are motivated but not by the white man's sense of standards for education. They want their own education for themselves. Has there been any reaction from the public schools?

Ranco: They are really behind us now. They had a meeting with us a few months ago and wanted to know if there was anything they could do to help. We are cooperating with a nearby high school in an arrangement where a student would attend the high school for one-half a day and TRIBE for the other half day to get his education.

Mitchell: I didn't have the encouragement in high school or grade school. As a matter of fact, I was more or less discouraged from going on to college. When I graduated I went to the University of Maine but I had no interest in it and I dropped out and entered the service for three years. When I came back home a representative from Bowdoin gave me a big talk about how they wanted to help the Indians. They told me

how I could attend college and have all the fees waived. I sent an application in but I was turned down because there were eight students applying for one position. At Colby College they had a similar situation where they admitted only one student. He is no longer there. These are paternalistic, token efforts.

Tibbits: Have you received cooperation from the local officials?

Ranco: Yes, we had to have the endorsement of all school, town and local officials. We have had a tutoring program for five years with the University of Maine. It took until this year for us to be recognized by the Department of Education. They finally decided to help us this past spring. They are letting us use the school so that we don't have to use people's homes and some old broken down tribal halls. The program was originally controlled by a do-gooder college student at the University of Maine who wanted all the glory of saying, "I saved an Indian child!" We listened to the needs of the students before we even started a new program. We talked to the students and asked them what they needed in the way of assistance. Last year we had three hundred college students signed up for our program. Instead of picking them at random, we carefully interviewed every one of the students. We have this program on the reservation now.

Yvonne Robinson: How do the students know about TRIBE and how are the students recruited?

Ranco: Last year the director and his assistant went to all 35 reservations. They presented to the people what TRIBE stood for and what TRIBE wanted to accomplish. They asked the students if any of them would like to come to TRIBE. They received about 200 applications. They wanted to start on a small scale, however. Instead of choosing the highly motivated students, they picked at random.

Arliss Barss: What is the highest grade level at your school?

Ranco: We have one senior student. The ages of the students range from 14 to 18.

Barss: Is this a school mainly for dropouts or can a student attend a state school at the same time?

Ranco: They can attend both schools. However, right now we are trying to help the Indian dropout. The board of directors decided that in the first year we should limit ourselves to working with dropout students.

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TRIBE Representatives George Toomer, Mike Ranco and Rick Mitchell.



Challenges In Serving The Indian Community

by David Abeel

As a result of the political activity and publicity surrounding the school boycott and the following school board election in the Salmon River School District, St. Lawrence University became involved with the St. Regis Mohawk Reservation. Robert Wells, the Associate Dean at St. Lawrence, initiated several meetings with some of the reservation leaders to discuss the possibilities of St. Lawrence helping the Indian community. After our initial offer of assistance, the St. Regis Education Committee said they would like to start a tutoring program, how can St. Lawrence help us?

The Indian children on the St. Regis Reservation attend either Salmon River, St. Regis, Snye, or Cornwall High Schools. We originally approached all four schools, but the only school in which we have actually operated a program is Salmon River.

Unbridled Optimism Tempered

The program began optimistically with elaborate schedules and ambitious programs planned. With the exception of the students who attended Salmon River, we experienced a rapid disillusionment. At the other schools we had all kinds of meeting problems. The first time we went to Snye the school was locked, the lights were off and there were no children there. We came back to campus, made a few calls and made arrangements for the following week.

This type of communication gap exposes the need for someone on the reservation who is able to contact the parents on behalf of our program, who has their confidence, can explain our presence and exactly what it is we are trying to do. We did not have someone like this at the other high schools but we did at Salmon River so we redoubled our efforts to become more successful there.

At first, Salmon River administrators saw us as a threat. If we recognized a problem, that meant a problem existed. No principal or school official wants to acknowledge that he has a problem in his school. The members of the St. Regis Education Committee saw it quite differently, however. The Indian children were not doing as well, on the whole, as the white children in the school. The question was, why?

It is hard to determine exactly what is wrong when the people in the high school will not even talk to you. They seemed rather hesitant about getting involved or trying to help us out.

We started the tutoring program at the reservation school. The school is an all-Indian elementary school that presently contains grades K-3. We tutor high school and sometimes primary school students three nights a week, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday. This involves about seventy St. Lawrence students and from eighty to 120 St. Regis students who come for help. The Education Committee is always on hand with smiles, the Indian children they endeavored to recruit are there, the building is open, everything is going according to plan — we are making progress.

Key to Success

The success of our entire tutoring program can be summed up in this way. We found that one person who lives on the reservation and can maintain continual contact with the Indian community. Someone with boundless energy, flexibility, and a heart as big as the sun. Someone who is able to communicate our point of view and the Indian point of view as well. Someone who can work with us without being attached to us — the individual contact cannot be seen as a tool of the white establishment since his effectiveness will be diminished if he is viewed as a turncoat by the Indian community. Someone who is inspirational, persevering and independent.

This description fits one person — Minerva White. She is our contact. Granted we have a very active Education Committee at St. Regis and the leadership — Chief John Cook, Jacob Cook, Larry Lazore, Ernie Benedict — and others are continually working with us, but our success in the continuing relationship with St. Regis is Mrs. White. We harass one another, egging one another on to greater heights. Minerva is the type of person who can flare up into a flame which just burns up all the bureaucratic white tape, just burns it right up and *gets the program to the people*. That is all she is interested in. She does not want to know about all the forms you want to bury her in, she wants to know what you are going to do for the Indian.

Aiding the Reservation Leadership

Our program has been operational for two years and we are about ready to embark on our third. If any of you are from institutions which might be interested in a similar program, the most important thing which I can emphasize, and that we are insistent upon in our program, is that your presence is at the

pleasure of the reservation leadership. We are there to facilitate the leadership who wish our assistance. We are not there to manipulate or use St. Regis for the benefit of St. Lawrence. If you keep this in mind you will have a valid program.

There are a great variety of indirect benefits that the St. Lawrence tutors receive in terms of personal gratification. But you must keep your original purpose in mind. There must be self-discipline. You start concocting all these grand schemes, but you have to go back and ask the Indian what he wants. You do not begin by talking to several college professors, you begin by talking to an Indian. Admittedly, this is a somewhat naive approach. It is like talking to President Nixon and trying to decide what it is that the American people want. You can talk to several Indian leaders and still not be apprised of what all the Indians want. There are many schools and organizations with tutoring programs. Many, however, make the mistake of drawing up a pre-organized, pre-planned program that the Indian is supposed to plug himself into.

Four Lessons

There are four lessons which I would like to relate to you. First, never be afraid to begin a project because you have no idle capital lying around. If your idea is sound and your service to the reservation is real, there is no problem. You can sell a sound idea and a real service to the people who hold the purse strings, be they in Washington, Albany, or private institutions, corporations and foundations.

Secondly, you must enlist the services of some authorized official in your institution's administration who will be willing to sign for the institution on behalf of your program and the Indians. Because St. Lawrence is the sponsoring institution, proposals that would not have even been considered if submitted by the Indians get careful scrutiny by the government and corporations since they believe that they are dealing with something larger, more secure, and more credible than the reservation itself. If that is the way the game is played, fine — just so long as they fund your proposal.

In many cases there are restrictions on approved grants. Once the proposal has been approved, you worry about the strings and let the Indians worry about how to spend the money. Misunderstandings are apt to arise when you give the Indians some money and then tack on a lengthy list of restrictions on its use. It must be spent where they think it will accomplish their goals. Do not saddle them with the paperwork, bookkeeping and audits. You take care of the relationship with your foundation and let the Indians worry only about the use of the funds.

Thirdly, do not be afraid to commit yourself way over your head. When you talk about fostering an academic environment, you have to talk about books. There are no books at St. Regis. The first priority was therefore the building of a library. Chief Cook thought he could get the funds necessary through the Office of Economic Opportunity. He said to us, "get me two thousand dollars and I will have a library in a year."

A few months later, at a meeting of the Education Committee, we learned that the OEO budget had been cut back drastically and Chief Cook's money had gone out the window on wings. He then needed sixteen to twenty thousand dollars to construct the library. I thought I would be an old man before we ever raised that kind of money. And that is lesson number four — never think defeatist thoughts. As you

will see when you visit the reservation, the library is almost operational. It should be staffed and running, operated by and for Indians, very soon.

How do you raise that much money? You take your song and dance to foundations, corporations and the government. They will tell you that you cannot build a library without a board of trustees or a corporation. You must reeducate them. You go out and talk to service organizations — scouts, chambers of commerce, churches, Rotary and Lions clubs — and try to raise money. Basically, these are information sessions. You do not have to beg for money, you just give them the facts — St. Lawrence has a program, there are Indians close by, they exist, they have problems. Suggest that they look to their own backyard for a local project with community involvement that will produce realizable results. Tell them about your program, your frustrations, your problems. Be very candid. Then they are likely to be very honest with you and say that they have not got a cent. But that is alright. Your message has been delivered.

Even some groups which appear hostile to your program will have individual members who will later send five and ten dollar donations. So do not get discouraged if you are not always a big hit. Every little bit helps.

Upward Bound Adds Another Dimension

This year we are supplementing Operation Kanyengehaga with a federally sponsored Upward Bound program. Because we see the Mohawk children only once a week in tutoring sessions, Upward Bound is designed to provide continuity to our efforts.

Originally, the government was skeptical about funding a program for high-risk students at a private institution like St. Lawrence which has no open-admissions policy. They did eventually fund our proposal. The reason, we believe, is that we planned to have thirty-three of the forty-five participants come from the St. Regis Reservation. The Indians were in the majority for a change.

The program runs for six weeks during the summer. We attempt to be innovative in the classroom, in activities, and in our tutoring sessions. We try to expose them to a different environment, capture their imaginations and motivate them to learn — learning that is exciting and fun. After the completion of the program and a brief summer vacation we will recommence with Operation Kanyengehaga.

Possibly, you have some feel for the dynamics of our involvement and for some of the lessons we have learned in the past two years. In summary, this involvement has made us recognize a myriad of complex, yet challenging problems we, as a university community, can help solve.

Completion of the Library-Cultural Center this fall we hope will be exactly the rallying point the political factions on the reserve need to find a common ground for communication.

Now that St. Lawrence has introduced an Upward Bound Program to add an exciting new educational dimension to its Indian tutoring, plans are beginning for a totally new thrust in the area of medical care facilities.

St. Lawrence's involvement has been a profound experience for those of us at the University who have followed Operation Kanyengehaga for its first two years. Hopefully, it will continue, and other SLU students will have a similar opportunity for learning during the years to come.

Developmental Curriculum Design Committee Recommendations

Preface

The Developmental Curriculum Design Committee believes that significant remedial and supportive assistance must be made available to the Native American student to guarantee that he will be provided with equal educational opportunities. The committee prefers the term "developmental" rather than the more widely used term "remedial." This choice reflects an important difference in attitude and approach. The term remedial implies that somehow a student did not grasp material which was presented. However, many academic deficiencies are more likely the result of improper or inadequate teaching methods. Developmental courses provide the student with an opportunity to learn skills that he has not had the chance to establish. This contrasts with the implication of the term remedial which suggests that a student's handicap prevented his understanding the material in the curriculum.

Individual students should not be led to believe that it is necessarily their fault that they need developmental work. They should understand that a variety of factors, primarily the educational system from which they came, contributed to weaknesses in certain academic skills.

Recommendations

The Developmental Curriculum Design Committee makes the following recommendations:

1. Examination and implementation of pre-freshman developmental and refresher courses for Indian students should be conducted by institutions of higher education desiring to enroll Indian students.

The thrust of this examination should be directed to uncovering developmental programs that can be constructed by an academic institution if such programs are not immediately available to Indian students. There are several model programs that can be viewed.

Dartmouth College is the center for the federally sponsored Upward Bound program. In addition, Dartmouth couples this effort with a structured freshman program. The freshman program makes allowances for specific weak points in academic areas that the student may possess. Fort Lewis College

in Durango has a six week intercultural program specifically for Native American students. Operation Kanyengehaga, the joint tutorial program at the St. Regis Reservation and St. Lawrence University, is a model for community involvement programs in pre-college compensatory education.

2. The academic institution should grant full credit for developmental courses.

Once the decision has been made to admit an individual, the student should be a full-fledged member of the academic community. All courses, including extra summer courses, should grant full credit so as not to stigmatize the student involved in developmental work, and to avoid the impression that this work is somehow less important.

3. The institution of higher education must make adjustments in its criteria when evaluating the academic standing of developmental students.

Having committed itself to working with students who have experienced educational disadvantages, it would be self-defeating for the institution to expect the participants in a developmental program to perform at the standard academic achievement levels. The institution must be willing to accept academic norms within the context of the developmental group. Each institution must determine the standards best suited to the needs of the individual student. One necessary element should be a time period of sufficient duration to enable the developmental student to attain standard academic achievement levels.

The above recommendation does not imply that graduation requirements should be altered or relaxed in any way.

4. The academic institution should use culture-free standardized tests to identify deficiencies in basic academic skills.

After a careful survey of standardized tests that are used throughout the country, the Developmental Curriculum Design Committee found that some have a lower degree of cultural bias than others and would therefore be better indicators of the aptitudes and abilities of Indian children. R.S. MacArthur (*Assessing the Intellectual Ability of Indian Pupils*) recommends *Progress Matrices* and the *Safran Culture Reduced Intelligence Test*.

Members of the Developmental Curriculum Design Committee: Fred Burt, Jean Dingee, Gracemary Dunn, Rose Jochnowitz, Ken Sawers, Lincoln White, Sister Celeste Williamson.

5. Peer group tutorial services for Native American students with an emphasis on self-involvement should be encouraged.

6. Institutions of higher education should open channels of two-way communication with elementary and secondary schools to devise comprehensive developmental programs.

Developmental work begun at an early educational level will decrease the need for modifications in college study and maximize the opportunities for learning at an earlier stage in the Indian student's academic career.

7. The instructional setting should not be suggestive of any distinction regarding developmental students.

This recommendation reinforces the committee's philosophy that developmental students should not be singled out or stigmatized whether in the classroom, laboratory or otherwise.

8. A lack of understanding of Native Americans by students or teachers could be rectified through special programs or courses relating to ethnic origins, culture, history and language of Indians represented at the institution.

Such orientation could be promoted with the assistance of guest lecturers and other supplemental sources.

9. A person who can establish a rapport with Native American students should be made available for continuous consultation.

Preferably, this individual should be a Native American.

10. Area colleges should explore the possibility of forming regional cooperative arrangements.

Cooperative colleges can eliminate costly duplication by sharing personnel and materials. All services and course offerings of a supportive nature might be utilized on a reciprocal basis.

11. The formation of a Native American club or organization should be encouraged.

The Native Americans who join such a club can help each other strengthen their cultural and tribal identification; make others aware of their culture, arts and crafts; and use the club as a clearing house for the problems of all Native American students.

DISCUSSION

Robert Wells: The Academic Policy Committee at St. Lawrence has accepted the recommendation that for a full year we are not going to consider our developmental students in terms of the normal standards that we would apply to our regular students. If we did, they'd be through. I think once you make

the decision that your college is going to reach out and work with educationally disadvantaged students, you are also going to have to make some adjustment in your standards. Now some of you come from schools which have open admissions policies where this doesn't really present a problem. But others of us come from schools where the faculty are going to get their backs up over the debasement of academic standards. Just our limited experience of three years with Indians, blacks, and disadvantaged North Country whites has left us with the impression that if you work very hard at counseling and very hard in developmental courses in the areas of math and English in particular, that usually by the time these students are sophomores, they are ready to take-off academically. I think I pointed out that our developmental group had a lower attrition rate than our student body as a whole.

Richard Frost: Do normal academic standards apply during the last three years?

Wells: Usually. Sometimes we might find that a year and two summers are not enough. We also believe that it might take more than four years for matriculation. We have encouraged reduced loads when the counselor and director of the program have recommended that such action is appropriate. If you are able to improve the student's reading comprehension and verbal ability, in terms of either their written or oral expression, you will find that they will more than hold their own.

Frost: The only really crucial criteria is that they meet the graduation requirements regardless of the time element or other considerations.

Arliss Barss: If you use English as a second language, what faculty member would be qualified to test the Indian student's ability in his native language?

Wells: I think you would have to bring in a Native American speaker. I think here is where the many recommendations for cooperative arrangements become important. Where you can get developmental programs on a consortium basis you can do a better job. There is much to be gained because of the expense, the scarcity of talent, and particularly the scarcity of Native American instructors.

Chris Tibbits: The point that must be remembered here is that the institution must be truly committed to a developmental program. I have seen two things happen to programs that have been started. One is that they will give you help at first but then by some arbitrary date you must achieve at the typical level. The other problem is that as programs get older, people seem to forget that there are new students coming into the program continuously. They start to get upset that these students are not achieving at higher levels.

Lyman Pierce: The Western New York Indian Educational Project is working with remedial programs at the elementary and the secondary levels. We are hoping that the students that are affected by this program will not need remedial help at the higher education level. Right now there is a need for a crash program. Eventually, these remedial programs must be carried out at the earlier levels so that they won't be needed in college. It puts a crimp on the college to do this over a long period of time. The college becomes an in-between school. It should be done right the first time on the lower levels.



Dr. Arthur Harkins

Encouraging By Generating

There is tension in our society. Not only in the white and black communities but in the Indian community as well. This tension is a function of many things, and I personally believe this tension to be good for us now, on the whole. America seems to be a society of many different kinds of people doing their things, trying to survive — even attempting to create a “joy of life” situation for themselves.

This can yet be a society that remains dynamically intact through the common human influence which cuts across the different categories and groups. It is perfectly possible for the American society to be approached optimistically.

I am going to make a case similar to the one Richard Jones (San Diego State) defines as the victory of ethnogenesis over ethnoentropy — in other words, a case for the *birth and life of culture over the decline and death of culture*. I am going to talk about the problems of over-planning and early “lock-in” of recommendations and change suggestions, whether made by

“insiders” or “outsiders”. Finally, I will talk about the role of vitality in education. Here, the emphasis will be on courage in contrast to caution.

The Situation at the University of Minnesota

At the University of Minnesota we perceived a lack of attention to local and regional Native American populations. Following this observation, we attempted to do some of the things which the working committees at this institute have suggested as “good” concerning this population. For example, we did establish a Department of American Indian Studies which meant that a voting faculty of Indians would have equal power in the arena of some two hundred-odd other departments of voting faculty at the university. We purposely structured the department so that it would not be subject to the constraints imposed by program structures which, at Minnesota, suffer from chronic powerlessness.

We established a variety of community programs with the assistance of legislative and federal funds, most of which were placed under Indian community board control. Under this arrangement, university faculty were responsible for the fiscal areas of the programs — they were not allowed decision-making prerogatives, which were the functions of the various

Dr. Arthur M. Harkins is currently Coordinator for the Center for Urban and Regional Affairs at the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, where he is an assistant professor of education and sociology. Dr. Harkins has directed several studies relating to Indians and he has also been the author of numerous articles on Native Americans.

Cultural Plurality

Real Educational Alternatives

A social scientist prominent in the area of Indian studies looks beyond college admittance and into the fundamental question of the essence of education. Is higher education as presently constituted a goal to be so widely acclaimed? Is college what the Indian truly seeks? Here are offered some suggestions for consideration.

by Dr. Arthur M. Harkins

Indian boards.

In our General College (the university's experimental junior college), we started a variety of programs designed to attract and hold Indian college students who did not presently have the skills to succeed in college. We were particularly interested in the survival of Indian college students after leaving the two-year General College and matriculating to the College of Liberal Arts. Our College of Liberal Arts was the setting in which the Department of American Indian Studies finally emerged.

Using employed Indian students under the direction of an Indian admissions professional, we undertook a fairly aggressive outreach program to attract Indian students. These persons went into Minnesota and nearby states and attempted to recruit Indian students. They employed all the devices at their command, including work with on-site Indian education committees, with tribal governments, with local contact personnel, with Indian graduates of higher education institutions and with school counselors.

Partially, as an outcome of these and other outreach programs, the University of Minnesota's Indian student enrollment climbed from 20 or 30 students to approximately 200

within a three-year period. Most of these new students were initially enrolled in the General College.

Through the benevolence of the U.S. Office of Education and B.I.A., the Graduate School has engaged in a highly successful Master's Degree Program with about 20 Indian students from around the country. Some of these students are now entering doctoral work in education.

The Department of American Indian Studies

Let us focus for a moment on the Department of American Indian Studies. Local community influences on this department, originally set up as a unit for the study of New World Native American peoples, appear to have been quite profound. The Indian and non-Indian committee which set up the Department of American Indian Studies formally intended that the department should act as a major scholastic resource for the objective study of the native peoples of North, South and Central America. Some observers now suggest that this goal may lie in the somewhat distant future for the department, if it is to be realized at all. Some observers, at least from the outside, see a situation of faculty confusion and resignation, and the conflicting effects of multiple Indian community influences on the department.

"We might begin serious discussions of the

Minneapolis happens to be the site of a great deal of active Indian militancy, particularly by the American Indian Movement. It appears that scholastic activity has not prospered in this atmosphere. It also appears that community program activity has suffered. Development of curriculum has been slow, and after two years of operation, comparison of the Department of American Indian studies with the Department of Afro-American Studies reveals large discrepancies in enrolled students, members of faculty, and numbers of courses offered — in favor of the blacks.

Allow me to attempt an analysis of some dynamics which surround the Department of American Indian Studies through an examination of a growing and more influential Indian pluralism. This pluralism acts, it appears, to vastly expand the functional arena of what has been called Indian or tribal "politics".

Indian Pluralism

Indian pluralism derives from social class changes, migration dynamics, generation gap problems, identity crises, and, of course, "pan-Indianism". These and other factors are creating a situation in which the Indian conception of political setting (literally, the sphere of human behavior) has begun to interact with broader available theatres of operation (national and even international settings). The traditional Indian conception of personal influence over the physical and human environments has been offered an entire continent with which to interact rather than a small reservation community, a faction, or a family. And this change is becoming commonplace. Growth in the operational sphere of Indian political activity, a function of various "liberating" influences abroad in contemporary America, has helped to create tremendous pressure not only upon white bureaucrats, but upon Indians who have gained access to white institutions, and upon Indians who are themselves operating "all-Indian" enterprises.

Multiple changes in the contemporary society are allowing many more Americans from wider backgrounds increased amounts of "say" in the conduct of their lives. We seem to be witnessing a general increase in political and influence activities. In many respects, the new patterns are perfectly suited to the complex and ramified political and social control patterns of many Native Americans.

It is necessary to focus on certain basic questions about the characteristics of higher education where Indians and other Americans are concerned. Since the collegiate environment is often the crucible in which old-style political forces meet the new-style influence forces of the 1970's, the focus is important.

What Is College and What Is It For?

To Indians, what is college and what is it for?

When we analyze the responses of Minneapolis Indian adults and teenagers to questionnaires and interviews on the value of higher education, we get the immediate impression that Indians greatly value college. Of course, we also generate doubts from these data and other sources about the

"operationalizing" capability of some Indians interested in college. Is college or "higher" education the most effective means of operationalizing Indian interests in matters intellectual, tribal-personal and vocational?

For many Indians, college is not an instrumental means of attaining better employment or greater intellectual prowess or personal and community salvation. It is rather something that one culturally "does" as part of a cultural career. This condition is certainly not common to Indians alone — far from it. Following the generalizations of Paul Goodman, one might suggest that many Indian and non-Indian young people should not really be in college, since they do not wish to be there and since the colleges often do not know what to do with them. We may be faced with the problems of having over-sold higher education. Particularly since 1960 we have been faced with loud (and possibly cultivated) demands from Indians and other minorities for collegiate "education", and yet, as never before, we are questioning the general worthwhileness of so much "higher" education. Add the 1971 job market configuration and the employment forecasts for a post-industrializing American society to these developments, and the picture really becomes troubling.

We should ask ourselves what college actually is (and is for) for the privileged whites in America before other groups are recruited. As the society becomes post-industrialized before our eyes, when the changes in labor markets cannot always be attributed to the vacuities of the current administration or to the Vietnam War, and when the mass media and other information-generating and dispersing agencies of the society develop more and more influence capabilities, is college still a "cultural necessity?" Even for a post-graduate "career" that is



concept and applications of competence."

primarily cultural? In the case of American Indians, is another mandate on the part of white liberals being reinterpreted as a "right" — the "right" to attend college?

The Business of Education

We are busy selling higher education to Indians and others as rapidly as they will buy it. Perhaps, we are sometimes businessmen when we profess to be scholars. In a way, it has become the self-appointed job of many to "educate" Indians even when the failures of colleges to "educate" privileged white students are pointed out. We seem to be assured that high dropout rates, personal, social and identity problems and the like will not constitute a moral problem when dealing with less prepared populations. Perhaps this is really a sign of growing equality of access for Indians, but access to what?

If we mean by "educate" something different from degree acquisition, a question many Indian and other young people might ask themselves is, "Why go?" I sometimes wonder if the lucrative (though not often well advertised) loans, direct grants and other forms of assistance to Indian college students are not sometimes misperceived as gestures of retribution or kindness from the whites instead of business transactions.

Subjectively, my guess would be that coming to college is for many Indian students what going to Haskell used to be. The data on Indian use of "skills" acquired through vocational training is often a mixed and saddening picture. I am waiting to see what will happen when large numbers of Indian college graduates emerge — to see what they will do, and indeed, what they will be allowed to do with their new "educational" experience. What are many others now doing with theirs? How about the next decade or two?

John Cook and Minerva White



Why College?

It would be useful for us to figure out why we are asking Indians to go to college. A missing element in learned discussions of Indian "progress" or Indian "advancement" often seems to be the question, "Why?" Why from the standpoint of *future* implications of continued education, for example? We seem to have no difficulty creating situations that "force" many Indian youths into college. By "force" I mean to use pressure, coercion, and carrots-on-sticks approaches to Indian youths to entice them to college.

We do not ask ourselves often enough what might be the alternative means through which Indians and others could gather the expertise necessary to do what they and their communities decide to do. I am fearful that most collegiate environments do not suit that kind of conscious, pragmatic, and goal-oriented activity on the parts of consumers. I include in the "most people" category Indian politicians, Indian educators, and many offices of educational leadership that affect "dominant society" and minority groups alike.

We say we should open up the colleges and universities to Indian students because they have been "excluded". We say we should make changes in present college structures and processes for Indian students because they "require" it. If one asks *why* these things should be done, one usually gets some kind of ideological answer — not an answer based upon what might be the futures of those Indian graduates (or dropouts) who actually become involved in collegiate experiences.

It may be an oversight of inexcusable proportions to push Indian students into unmodified or slightly modified institutions of higher education when they and their communities might often benefit from alternative approaches to the development of skills. I am suggesting that the various forms of pluralism in Indian and other societies be recognized in the types of higher education opportunities available to them. Some of these will be conventional or slightly modified structures, and some may be very, very different indeed. Many more alternatives are needed for college-bound Indians.

Plural Society and the Diversified College

The plural forms of political activism in Indian society should, I think, be regarded as honest and concrete elements of constantly diversifying Native American peoples. Indians do not exist as one minority, but rather in the fashion that many white ethnic groups and non-white subcultures do — as subcultures within a plural and pluralizing larger setting. Practically, how can any single program of American Indian "studies" or the like honestly attempt to follow the demands, needs, and cultural trends of *every* Indian community?

One of the major contributions we could make to Indian peoples from diverse backgrounds might be to make it possible for them to make their own decisions about the nature of social reality and the significant alternative futures related to reality. If we were to "package and deliver" college in other ways than those which we obtain when single faculty members or single departments control the packaging and delivery of



Al Gilbert, Ernie Benedict, Chris Tibbits

information, and if we were to allow diverse Indian influence in these activities, then the opportunities to interface Indians with new and old bodies of knowledge might expand apace. Many Indian communities and individuals could assist in the process of repackaging and redelivering old and new materials under different epistemological umbrellas. A major problem in the development of this kind of intellectual and scholarly activity lies, of course, in the job security needs of academics and in certain characteristics of Western science, intellectual functioning, and educational bureaucracy.

The Indian educational leader himself might take some hint here, particularly if he plans to go into a leadership role in higher education. His leadership role in higher education will, under current conditions, almost always be a function of the activities of non-Indians. He will have occasional problems working with whites in this fashion, but I think he will initially have more problems working with Indians. If Indians are pluralizing at a rapid rate within and among tribes and other categories of their populations, then would these different groups not be better served by more flexible Indian, non-Indian and hybrid higher education structures?

I have seen several college-related Indian programs — at high levels of funding — begin magnificently under board control and then end dismally as these boards tended to freeze out internal and external Indian opposition. These battles were often expressed in highly personal terms not easy for outsiders to perceive and understand. The forces which operate in many white institutions to keep out opposing points of view or to “correct” them also operated to keep out unsettling Indian points of view or to “correct” them. Different situations, similar results.

What To Study?

In the near future we could begin to create situations where multiple definitions of fact, based on different epistemologies, could be allowed to exist side by side in the academy. This will complicate the academy, and it will make very complex answers to the questions, “What should we really be studying?” and “What is really true?” At the same time, it should increase vastly the body of differentially filtered information about the realities of American social life. Sociologically, a “fact” is whatever someone perceives about a society or himself. Some contemporary American Indians are expert at employing and exploiting this approach to culture.

The pluralism which might develop in American society could be a national *gemeinschaft*, in which multiple Indian and other pluralities exist in heterogeneous groups and categories

best described as *gesellschaftliche*. Magoroh Maruyama describes such a possibility in a recent contribution to the “anthropology of the future”. Tribal-style sharing might be a major element in the cultural makeup of such a society. The kind of sharing which I have in mind is not the sort of penalty-laden system, sometimes mislabelled as altruistic behavior by casual observers, that many acculturating Amerind and other groups practice.

Trans-epistemological efforts will be a fundamental and necessary aspect in the development of altruistic cultural sharing in America. An element of sharing from the standpoint of the academy must be a willingness to recognize that the canons of “truth” may have to become the decisions of “natural” individuals and groups. The academy may be asked to pragmatically recognize that multiple epistemological treatment of the same “disciplinary area” or “problem” or “process” may be the direction we will have to go in the near- and mid-term future. We might begin to see how different epistemologies could be allowed to exist and even flourish within academy walls.

Generating Real Educational Alternatives

The multiple, coexisting worlds of different epistemologies and resultant social “facts” is not, I think, too great a complexity for the academy to eventually bear. As an alternative to existing monolithic higher education thought processes and the resultant clumsy attempts to “integrate” Indian Americans and other minority groups into collegiate structures, Maruyama identifies the “concurrent multipurpose versatility system” — the system which encourages plurality. What colleges and universities could do, for example, is to stop talking about *an* Indian student “center” and recognize that *several* Indian student centers on the same campus may be needed to accommodate different natural groups of Indian students. There are many comparable situations in other academy areas.

The kind of factionalism that exists in many contemporary Indian communities often seems quite different in style and outcome from earlier forms of post-contact faction behavior. In many previous cases, prior to the industrializing and urbanization of America, Indian factionalism did not directly suggest social disaster except when white influences of certain political and military types were closely involved. Some of the historical examination which goes on by Indians and their friends today might be focused on what worked in factional behaviors where whites were *not* the primary instigators of such behaviors. We in higher education might even learn

through such research how to relate to different Indian factions within the same geographic community without feeling guilty. We may come to accept that the different Indian factions of the 1970's are very often seeking their kind of "natural" contact with white institutions and individuals. In the past, it was the case that most involved white men contributed to the downfall of Indian social solidarity and to the diminishing of Indian cultural futures. Today, however, many Indians possess sufficient personal and social strength and material-legal foundations to successfully withstand direct, give-and-take interaction with whites and their institutions. To provide special circumstances for Indians under which direct interactions are limited or impossible is to continue a softer but debilitating paternalism.

Through the colleges, the mass media, the libraries, the communities, the churches, the public schools, the federal institutions and the private foundations, we may find it possible to create coalitions with "natural" Indian groups and communities that treat Indians as adults, and that set up flexible institutional structures sensitive to the expansion of Indian pluralities. Higher education can lead in this evolution of institutional function and form. By devoting tremendous amounts of energy to the placement of Indians in conventional higher education structures, however, and by devoting great faith to minor institutional modifications, both Indians and their non-Indian friends may be wasting energy that could otherwise be put to the business of generating real educational alternatives.

Transpection

Many of us who are in the business of trying to understand contemporary Indians find ourselves living under an onerous injunction delivered by liberal whites: we must be empathic toward Indians. We should take Indian positions on various

matters, but Indians, we are told, should not take our positions on things. We are also asked to conceal our real positions from Indians whenever "humanistically" necessary. Maruyama suggests that transpection may be enough — that it may be sufficient (and necessary) to know what the other person thinks, feels and sees, but not necessary (and possibly damaging) to attempt an epistemological joining with the other person. The provision of basic privileges and rights in a heterogeneous society may require a kind of general *gemeinschaftliche* respect for different individuals and groups which is translated into legal provisions for the protection and expansion of pluralities and for proper redress of wrongs perpetrated by any sector of the society — even by the red minority.

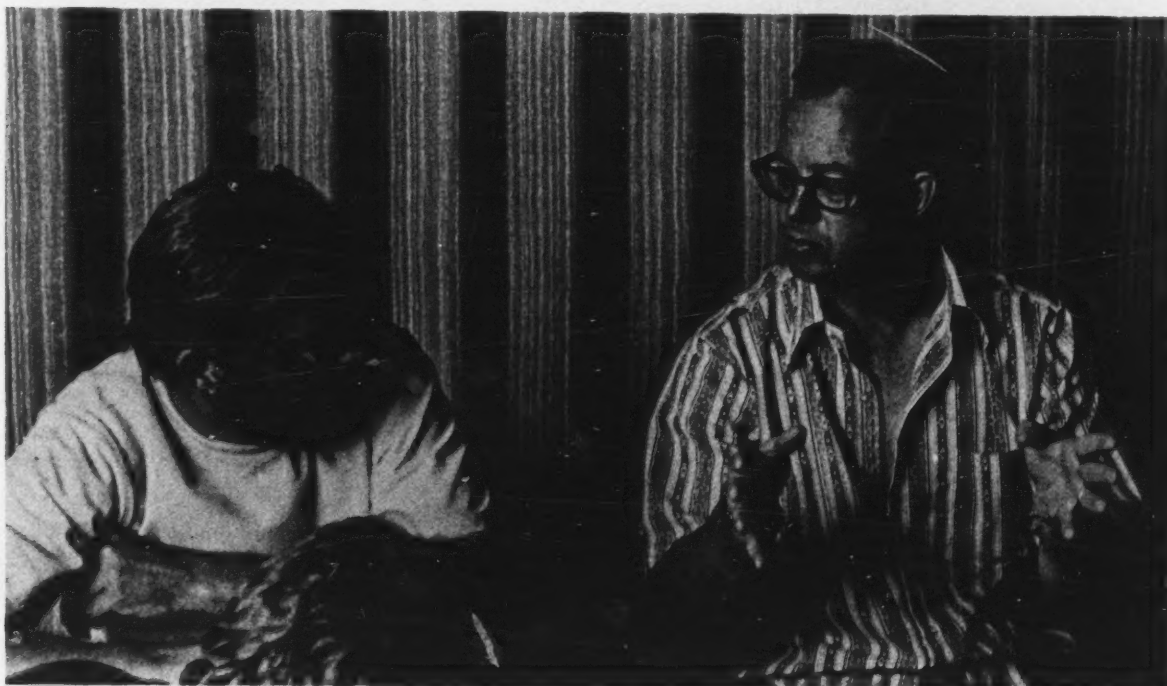
Three Means To Pluralism

There are three means which I think might be employed to help bring about and maintain this kind of functional pluralism in America.

First, I think that all people in a society, regardless of their backgrounds, should have maximum information about what is going on in the society. I realize that the characteristics of many white institutions and of certain tribal political groups do not operate to maximize opportunities for open information. But such provisions should be part and parcel of the whole idea of increasing life choices and chances for individuals and of defining the nature of social information and the implications it may have for our society.

Second, there should be maximum social participation in America. If an Indian person resides in one community faction, he has the opportunity to learn about and possibly influence what is going on in another faction. Whites, as well as blacks and others, should also have such opportunities in analogous institutional and associational situations. *All mem-*

John Chapple, John Larsen



bers of American society should have full participatory rights and privileges where *any* social group or category is concerned. This would mean that racial chauvinism might suffer setbacks, for example, but not racial pride.

Third, I suggest that full participation with maximum information on the part of everyone be related to the development of skills in "social design" and "management". Full participation with maximum information mediated through sophisticated social design and management skills will mean redefinitions of the delivery structures concerned with information and services. This would, of course, include colleges and universities.

I suggest that we allow everyone the opportunity to become skillful in social participation and in the handling of information toward multifold pragmatic ends. As a part of the working out or "shakedown" phase in the development of a truly pluralistic America (one which can "hang together" and even respect itself in the process), we might begin serious discussions of the concept and applications of *competence*. It seems to me that we must be able to point out real leaders of any people, and that we must be able to identify fools. In Minneapolis, it is sometimes difficult to know who are leaders and fools in Indian-white relations primarily because the sources of relevant information are so few and so intermittent that most men in the street, red or white, find themselves propagandized rather than pursued in such matters.

A major contribution of a concurrently restructured academic community might be to help expand our ideas of the multiple factual natures of both Indian and white communities. Where the requirements of expertise, competence and true leadership of both communities are involved, and where the larger realities of common humanity and planet are concerned, we might ask easier tasks of higher education.

The ethnogeneses, the "real" gains that American society might make, are going to be made by individuals and new "natural" groups and categories. The agencies of higher education can aid in this work, and can play a vital role in the discovery and creation of the multifold social truths that will underlie all struggles against ethnoentropy.

DISCUSSION

Arnold Chapman: What is your Indian staff?

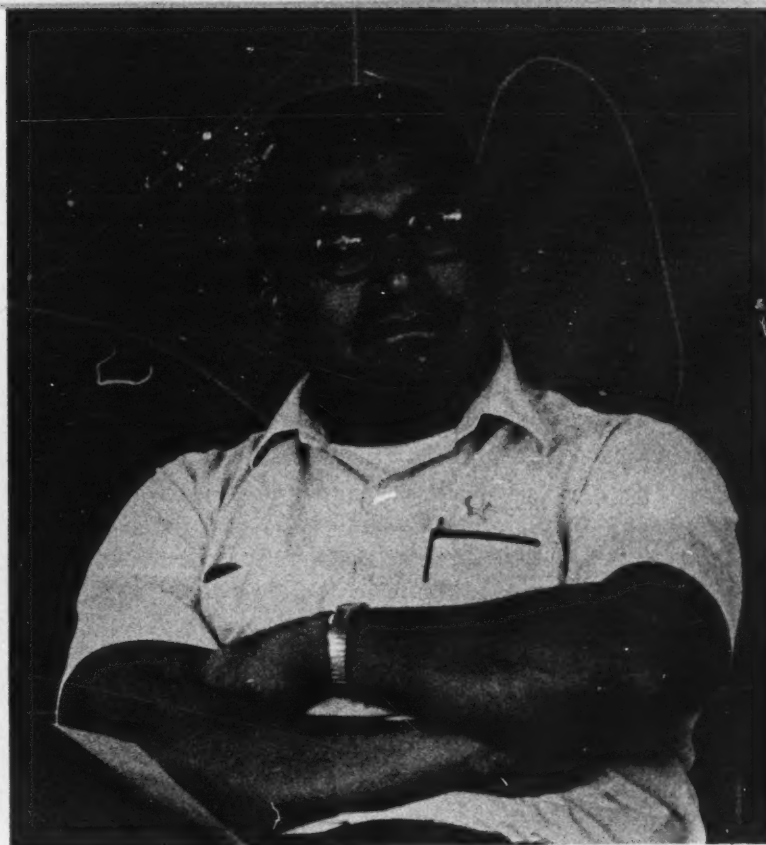
Harkins: We have four positions for faculty members in the Department of Indian Studies, two of which are currently filled, one by an Indian and one by a white. We have two to three dozen positions for Indians most of which are filled by Indians in federal programs. We have one Indian outreach professional who has Indian students working under him and we also have fifty Indian counselors.

Richard Frost: Why is it competitive for university funds? Is there friction between the departments?

Harkins: There are 220 odd departments on the campus with everyone fighting each other for resources.

Yvonne Robinson: How did you go about recruiting the Indian students?

Harkins: The function of recruiting Indian students on the part of hired Indian professionals started two years prior to the formulation of the department. The actual hiring of these people was done by certain Indian professionals. In our



Lyman Pierce

outreach area we have specific problems which reflect the tensions between Afro and Indian Studies. No less than 50 percent of the Martin Luther King Program students must be American Indian because the largest minority group in Minnesota is American Indian. There were always Indian students at the university in tiny numbers. At the time of the concentrated recruitment program we had already begun the committee work for the development of the department. After almost two years of consultation with various Indian groups, the president of the university chose Indians from all walks of life to represent 60 percent of the committee. The remaining 40 percent were non-Indians from student, faculty and administrative personnel.

Lyman Pierce: I like your notion of pluralism and diversity. I'm wondering, however, if your background with the mid-American Indian isn't coloring your notion that Indians are not capable of succeeding in university life right now?

Harkins: Some Indians are succeeding in small percentages. I think that some studies have indicated 13 percent completions. I'm not really saying that Indians can't succeed in public school settings in higher education. What I'm really wondering about is if it is all really worth the effort? Are there other ways to proceed through other institutional formats?

Pierce: Maybe your university has too much of a crash program without getting the Indians ready for the secondary level. Possibly, community colleges need to operate more in the local situation.

Harkins: I was not talking about student lack of preparedness. There are no problems with the students. It is the faculty and administration, both white and Indian, that are problematic in their behavior to Indian students who want to go to school with the assistance of the American Indian Studies Program.

Pierce: You said that you wanted to change the whole university situation.

Harkins: If we are going to talk about a quality higher education university, through which all kinds of information is available to anyone who wants it, we are talking about a different setting than a community college. This is because of its social rather than its intellectual mission. I am thinking of the information environment for Indians and non-Indians. I am worried about a situation where a group of right-minded educators go out to serve a particular enclave of people in a way that directly reflects the assumptions of that enclave, and don't bring people in with counter-thoughts and discussion. If you look at what higher education institutions do in terms of what they "teach" in the classroom, you are forgetting 90 percent of what they do. What is going on in higher education, and on other levels, is that certain social norms are being transmitted. What I find in some ways equally disturbing in large educational institutions which departmentalize the way ours has and small institutions which have certain gestalt cultures of various types, is that they both inhibit the development of knowledge and the multiple interpretation of events.

Pierce: Why do they inhibit?

Harkins: Because of the vested interest aspect which grows with the guild system, and the vested interest qualities which develop in the gestalt cultures in smaller institutions.

Pierce: If teachers would allow students to think for themselves, I don't think you would need the model that you are talking about.

Harkins: I didn't express the model as something that you need. I expressed it as something you consider. If I were teaching a class on urban Indians in the United States and an Indian or non-Indian student comes in and says that this is the worst class he has ever taken, he should have an alternative. Right now he doesn't. When an Indian comes into college they are told by the budgeting structure that they can have one Indian center when there are natural groupings that require six.

John Larsen: What might you suggest for an alternative to dollars and cents?

Harkins: Money is basic, some sort of a commodity has to be basic. My position might be that we could use the same amount of money, we might form a vast sort of resource pool.

Larsen: You have leveled the criticism, but I don't think that you have come to the basic problem. There are so many dollars and they have to be divided. You are suggesting that they be divided in another manner. If this is so, the manner that they are now divided in has to be eliminated to one degree or another.

Harkins: What we now do is say to kids that they need a high school diploma, whether they are Indian or not, to survive in this society. I think this is a 19th century idea. What you need is the skill to perform a function in the society, or show clearly that the skills can be developed. Degrees mean nothing in this kind of situation. If we are going to have a society of multiple choice and freedom for human development for individuals and for groups, we need to remove certain institutions that tend to prevent this — the institutions that try to make a BA axiomatic for a job with IBM.

Robert Simpson: You mentioned some of the things that have happened to some of the graduates of this program. What kind of problems are they running into when they return to their communities?

Harkins: The students who get a college degree and then return to their community looking for a job find a whole complex assortment of reactions. He may find acceptance by family, peer groups or factions of the community. However, he might also find a kind of distrust as to why he left, and what he hoped to gain for himself. This may run all the way to outright rejection on the assumption that he wouldn't be coming back if he hadn't been able to find a job some place else. In other words, this person is a failure or he wouldn't be coming back. These are social facts. Human beings are most interesting when they say what is good for others in specific terms. Everyone should have maximum opportunity to develop himself. I don't think our structures are allowing us to have it, particularly higher education structures.

Pierce: What is education?

Harkins: That is the question I raised. What is college and what is it for? I could define it for myself, but I can't really define it for you. For me, it is culture transmission, with value placed upon it at a given point in time by people for whatever reasons.

Pierce: You are trying to present a model that is so eclectic, so pluralistic and so perfect that it is going to respond to all the diversities that come to a particular place. I think that is an impossibility.

R. Simpson: If he has high expectations for a purely theoretical model, that is okay.

Leo Nolan: First of all, the colleges that we are talking about are based on what white, middle-class values judge to be right. In as much as the larger society is dictated by white men, the Indian's success on the reservation and in the society depends upon the acquisition of the tools needed to cope with the society. For the Indian to benefit his people he has to have these tools. But the only way he can get them is by going to school. Maybe we should let the Indian class make up some of the rules.

Harkins: That is precisely what I'm suggesting may be a problem. Nobody should be allowed to make up the rules. Instead, we should all maximize the opportunity.

Richard Frost: I wonder if you would reflect on the implications in respect to processes of social certification of your model of greatly diffusing and multiplying educational opportunities. What sort of a model would you set up for that process?

Harkins: The one that is essentially being proposed by Senator Mondale. It proposes that the particular task for which a person becomes a candidate be assessed in terms of the requirements necessary for the position. This is done in relation to his actual and potential skills, not the candidate's race, creed, color or degrees. It worries me that my university and many other colleges and universities are going about the Indian thing very much in the fashion of something that is right to do now. I wonder what is being done in terms of long-term future effects on Indian students.



Curriculum Content Design Committee members, left to right: Robert Simpson, Joan Fagerburg, Chris Tibbits, Ernie Krag, Richard Frost, Jim Agett. Missing: Michael Allen.

Curriculum Content Design Committee Recommendations

Preface

The Report of the Curriculum Content Design Committee is founded upon several basic assumptions which should be clearly stated prior to the consideration of our specific recommendations.

Commitment— Any institution of higher education undertaking examination of its curriculum in response to contemporary concerns of Native Americans should be sincerely committed to making changes in that curriculum as well as in such other areas as course requirements and teaching personnel.

Communication and Cooperation— All institutions of higher education involved with Native American (i.e., community involvement, curriculum revision or development, formulation of new programs) should establish a system of direct communication with such Native Americans as is appropriate to assure an equitable and proper Native American input and self-determination in developing and planning functional programs. The institution should attempt to meet the Native American needs on their terms and not rely on the past practice of having non-Indians prescribe the goals and objectives.

Participants in the dialogue might include Native American representatives living in the region served by the institution, Native American community leaders and spokesmen, educational professionals and students. Native Americans should serve on all appropriate committees in an equitable capacity (i.e., members, consultants, etc.) and number as befits their responsibility and involvement.

Motivation— The motivation for concern and interest in the

Native American community being served by the institution of higher learning should be a genuine desire for reciprocal communication rather than using the native peoples as objects of study. Instructors should not exploit the Native American population, including students, for their personal research without the consent of the individuals involved.

Regard for the student— There should be due recognition of each individual student's right to determine the extent to which he wishes to use the curriculum to support his individual identity as well as his right to acquire those skills which will afford successful performance in a responsible position in his own ethnic community or the larger society. It should not be assumed that a student is necessarily going to be involved in Native American studies simply because he is Indian.

Reexamination— All instructors in institutions of higher education should reexamine their programs, curriculum, and resource materials to assure their appropriateness, accuracy and inclusiveness in representing the contribution of Native Americans to the present society.

This was the committee's paramount concern. The committee believes very strongly that instructors should make every effort to secure accurate materials and resources. Unusually careful scrutiny of these materials is necessary in the light of the omissions, errors and biases exhibited in a significant amount of work done in relation to Native Americans. This subject matter lends itself to conflicting interpretation and, therefore, there is a continuing need for improved scholarship and the representation of various viewpoints. This statement is not intended to be an impingement

upon academic freedom but is simply a reminder of the inadequacies which exist and which must be corrected to do justice to the history of Native Americans.

The committee would like to direct the attention of the academic community to the work done by the American Indian Historical Society in evaluating textbooks. A team of thirty-two Indian scholars has studied more than three hundred books in respect to their accuracy and adequacy in relating the history and culture of Native Americans. The results of their work have been published by the Indian Historian Press and *Textbooks and the American Indian* is available.

Three Levels of Involvement

In undertaking the task of making recommendations regarding curriculum design, the committee considered three levels of involvement for the educational institution:

- 1) Revising existing curricula in terms of accuracy, appreciation and inclusiveness regarding the cultural contributions of Native Americans to past and present societies.
- 2) Initiating introductory courses concentrating on Native Americans.
- 3) Establishing an independent Native American Studies program or department.

The committee's recommendations affect each level to different degrees. Some recommendations pertain to any academic institution while others have relevance only for particular institutions with highly developed programs. Each institution of higher education should adapt the recommendations to its specific capabilities and implement them according to the magnitude of the institution's involvement with Native Americans.

Recommendations

The following are the recommendations of the Curriculum Content Design Committee:

1. Developing sensitivity to Native Americans by means of workshops, in-service and pre-service training.

Faculty (and administrators) must be conscious of the need for understanding, appreciation and sensitivity to Native Americans and their culture. Workshops are particularly effective means by which to inform and sensitize the academic community to compensate for the ignorance about Native Americans caused by their omission from most studies of Western culture.

Primary responsibility for the organization of the workshop should rest with Native Americans who are either attending, planning to attend, or have attended an institution of higher learning. Content of the workshop should be left to the Native American organizers but it is suggested that the program include general background including history and culture, community relationships and values and lifeways of the native peoples involved.

Modifications in the workshop would have to be made according to the size of the institution. It might include an entire faculty and staff, or it might be offered only to interested departments.

2. Initiating courses concentrating on Native American people.

The committee recommends that Native American students, if available, be consulted regarding the course(s) they believe are desirable. Areas of greatest need according to the committee are in ethnohistory. Courses should reflect a general history of native cultures and an in-depth study of representative and/or local native peoples. The pitfall of "generalized Indian designations" should be avoided and the diversity of the Native American people should be recognized.

3. Native American students should be permitted and encouraged to apply their own life experiences in the fulfillment of course requirements.

The committee believes that this approach would expand the flexibility of the classroom to meet the needs of Native American students without ignoring methodology and academic requirements.

This recommendation is particularly appropriate in the fulfillment of the foreign language requirement. Native Americans should have the option of presenting verbal skills in the native language if it is the second language, or English if that is the second language.

4. Institutions of higher education with a significant Native American enrollment should establish some form of Native American studies program or department.

In this recommendation the committee is speaking in terms of minimal requirements. We do not intend to imply that smaller institutions with a smaller Native American enrollment should be denied or restricted in the implementation of such a program.

Because there are a number of models available to schools embarking on the development of a Native American Studies program and because the committee is strongly committed to the recognition of Indian cultural variation by the sponsoring school (with guidance being provided by the indigenous native population at the school), there are not any specific recommendations regarding the necessity of including any particular curricula. However, we would urge that the following possibilities be thoroughly explored:

a. Courses on Native American ethnohistory with particular emphasis directed to the import of the culture and an understanding of the diverse attitudes, values and lifeways of Native American peoples.

b. Courses on contemporary lifestyles, problems and concerns of Native Americans.

c. Courses of study on the Native American languages. Usually this would involve the regional languages of the native population served by the institution.

The two basic guidelines which should be adhered to in formulating a Native American studies program are that the curriculum of such a program should be a reflection of the needs and interests of the students as they perceive them and

that every effort must be made to overcome "generalized Indian designations" in the curriculum, particularly if diverse cultures are represented in the enrollment.

Native American studies are of equal benefit and interest to non-Indians, therefore, the courses should be open to all. However, Native American students should get priority in courses with limited enrollment.

Anyone considering future contact with Native Americans in a professional capacity (*i.e.*, teacher, social worker, nurse, doctor, etc.) should be encouraged to take appropriate courses in the field of native studies.

5. Cultural study programs and developmental (remedial) preparation for college curricula should not be mutually exclusive.

In cases where both cultural study and developmental (remedial) preparation are warranted, the Native American student should not be forced to sacrifice one for the other. A combination program should exist for those students desiring to invest the time and energy in such programs.

Whenever possible, developmental (remedial) work should be incorporated into the regular academic program with appropriate credit in order to increase the efficiency of the student's efforts and to minimize the stigma often attached to such remediation.

6. Institutions of higher education should be receptive to the expansion of curricula where possible to include continuing education for Native American people of the region.

The committee believes that academic institutions which are serious in their commitment to Native Americans should provide the community as a whole, usually Indian adults, with an opportunity to participate in the educational process. This will benefit the educational community by fostering a healthy environment for learning and it will compensate for the previously limited opportunities to learn a skill.

Subject matter to be presented should be determined by consulting the regional Native American community as to their needs. The institution should be willing to come to the community if it is so invited by the native peoples.

Personnel

The Committee on Curriculum Content Design has the following further recommendations on the employment of personnel in the area of Native American studies:

1. Preference should be given to Native American instructors. Qualified, non-native instructors should not be excluded from consideration, however.

Since many persons recognized by the Native American community as their wisest interpreters and teachers of the "Indian way" do not hold traditional academic credentials, the committee strongly recommends that institutions of higher education review their criteria for accreditation and certification of teaching personnel and recognize knowledge and

expertise acquired outside normal academic channels as acceptable credentials. Some measures for recognizing Native American expertise when full certification is impossible are:

- a. The use of "para-professionals."
- b. Guest lecturer or visiting scholar series to include speakers representing different aspects of Native American life.
- c. Consultants with expertise in a specific subject area should be enlisted for their services.

2. Such services as the preservation of Native American languages and the investigating of historical conflicts could be organized to employ Native American students as researchers under such programs as work-study and joint grants formulated by native residents and academic instructors.

This would accomplish the much needed scholarly tasks while simultaneously providing Native Americans with financial remuneration.

Facilities

The Committee on Curriculum Content Design has the following further recommendations on institutional facilities:

1. A library-resource center should be implemented for all interested parties.

This recommendation applies not only to the campus community, but the possibility of local community centers should be explored. It might be an independent Native American venture or it might be a cooperative effort in conjunction with regional academic institutions, libraries or other civic concerns.

2. Cooperative programs among various institutions should be implemented.

The ability of several institutions to pool their human and material resources and reduce duplication of Native American programs will be instrumental in reducing costs and assuring the program's quality and survival. A cooperative effort will also allow for a more comprehensive and diversified program as facilities, resources and personnel can be shared with greater efficiency and effectiveness.

DISCUSSION

Richard Frost: I believe that some of the points raised under the heading "*Reexamination*" are somewhat impertinent although their spirit is sound. For example, "...instructors should make every effort to secure accurate materials and resources." A professor who doesn't do that isn't doing his job.

Lyman Pierce: I think it has to be stated. The universities are in error right now because they haven't made their history accurate. It's taking the Indian people to say to the historians that they've been classifying Wounded Knee wrong, that they have been classifying Indians in a stereotype manner.

Chris Tibbits: When we dealt with this area in the report, our committee discussed the fact that we were impinging upon

what many people would define as academic freedom. We consciously chose, at that time, to take the risk and make these statements because of the great needs in this area. It was not intended as an affront to the faculty who already do this, but as a reminder of the tremendous need for good scholarship.

Robert Simpson: You're telling the historian that he better be careful to use sound historical methods. Perhaps that is uncalled for in a report. We can assume that a scholar is going to try and do his best in his scholarship. After all, who discovered the inaccuracies in the textbooks? Historians and Indians. However, I don't think it is amiss to remind historians to be wary of secondary sources. It can't do any harm. In most cases, you are not reminding the scholars, you are reminding the teacher who is going to use the results of scholarship from past years. He may do this blindly if he's not reminded.

Ernie Krag: The fact that a tremendous inequity and injustice has been in evidence with relation to minority group history does not rule out the danger that history may be perverted from another angle. Truth is always the goal and object of scholarship and it has to be maintained.

Pierce: The anthropologist came under attack in the first part of this institute because of his methodology and something of his criteria and something of his philosophy. In the area of history, this also applies. The historians have not been writing history accurately. If he wants to write from the white point of view, fine, but there is also an Indian point of view. It's relative to culture, to people's opinions and prejudices.

Krag: I don't deny that at all. I think it is permissible to say that the goal for the historian is to find the truth, or what actually happened, to the full extent that it is possible to know it. If this isn't so, think of what the alternative is.

Pierce: The whole problem is in interpretation. The Iroquois are now saying, "Fenton, with all your scholarship, you have portrayed it wrong." I'm not sure that you can write truth with a capital "T" anymore.

Frost: Now certainly there is not a monolithic truth, and interpretation is a part of the historian's responsibility. What I'm concerned about is that there shall be a sincere, dispassionate effort to get at the past as honestly as possible. We don't want to make ourselves official propagandists for a particular line of history. As human beings, we do not have the capacity to arrive at the absolute truth. We can attempt to be fair and honest, to search diligently through all the evidence and to attempt to assess the materials on all sides, including oral traditions and documentary evidence.

There are two very old, over-simplified traditions with respect to attitudes toward the Native American and his society. One is that he is the wild savage and the other is that he is the noble redman. Let's not have romanticism if we can avoid it.

Art Einhorn: In defense of the historians, you all must be aware that the Indian point of view from the 1600's to the present has changed also.

I would like to go back to the prefatory statement on "Motivation" where it talks about exploiting the Native American student. I would like to illustrate an example to show you how meaningful that statement really is. There was a

situation at a university where a young graduate student from Nigeria attended. The young man was on the borderline academically but he happened to be the grandson of a Medicineman. One member of the anthropology faculty coerced him, in terms of continuing financial aid, to tell him of certain aspects of the secret rituals of his tribe. Two things can happen here. One, he can be coerced into telling the truth or, second, he could fake it and tell lies.

Jim Agett: Another thing would be a class where the teacher asks the student from the reservation about various points until it gets to the stage that one student is used as the source of reference. Then the student gets the attitude after a while that he should be getting paid for teaching the course because he knows more than the teacher.

Arthur Harkins: When you speak of Native American studies you say in the recommendations that the education should be on his terms, "... a reflection of the needs and interests of the students as they perceive them ..." What do you mean by this?

Tibbits: I don't feel that I, as a white person, can presume to tell an Indian who he is or where he came from. I may be able to help him do that.

Krag: Nor should we take the usual white attitude that we know what is best for them or that we know what they would want to learn in the context of the Native American studies program. It should be responsive to what the Indians want, not what a white administration thinks it would be fine for them to learn. Again, this is all in relation to the Native American studies curriculum.

Tibbits: The Native American studies at an institution should be that which the students and Indian personnel involved in the program think to be appropriate.

Frost: If anyone comes in to teach something he doesn't know anything about, we are in bad shape. I think we are getting terribly anxious about cultural prerequisites. It is not just this institute, it is our contemporary society.

Pierce: I think it is saying more than that. I think that the academic community cannot accept the fact that they have an abysmal ignorance of the American Indian. The American Indian, right now, is an authority on himself. Some of them, not all of them. Right now you've got some authorities that can give you the Indian point of view even though they don't have a PhD.

Native American studies does not have to be a way of life for the Indian student. There needs to be some regional universities that will go in-depth in Indian studies. Some students may want to teach, to teach teachers to teach. Others may want just a sampling. They may want to be dentists, lawyers, mathematicians. I think the concept of Native American studies is spread too large. This is not going to be the Indian's whole life at college.

Bill Laughing: In college I expected the history books to be accurate. One night I walked into the lounge and a friend of mine said to me, "Bill, did you know that you are extinct?" He showed me a page of his history book that said all Mohawks had been wiped out by this one general who said they fought on the wrong side of the revolutionary war. It made me think that things aren't really accurate.

Equitable Restitution To The Indian

The Indian Claims Commission Enters Historic Controversy

by John T. Vance

I think it might be instructive to describe the background of the Indian Claims Commission, what the work of the Indian Claims Commission has been, is and might be.

Although it is essential to think about the United States the way it is today with particular regard to the Indian, it is interesting to consider that there were two facts in history which almost coincided. One was the Emancipation Proclamation of President Abraham Lincoln which emancipated the slaves and vastly expanded the hope of the black man. The other was the completion of the virtual extinction of the red man.

Extinction of the Red Man

I am satisfied in my own mind that the extinction of the red man was the inescapable result of national policy. What it had taken the Indians 40,000 years to acquire had been largely taken away from them by 1890. And the population of the Indians in what is now the United States had been reduced from 1,000,000 to 200,000 people. That reduction of the Indian population was effected by pestilence, the sword, climatological factors, and the on-rushing technology of an expanding, essentially economically amoral society.

In 1868 there were 300,000 Indians in the United States. A peace commission was appointed. Norman C. Taylor was named the President of the Peace Commission. General Sherman and other well known names were part of what, I believe, was a five man commission. Within the context of that era, that document, the report of that commission submitted to the people, was extremely humane. The report traced the horror of the treatment that the Indian had received. It recognized at the time that the inexorable forces of this westward expanding country, this new nation, would not permit the Indian to reside on the land the way he had historically, the way his culture dictated.

Mr. John T. Vance is presently a member of the Indian Claims Commission. He served in the capacity of Chairman of the Commission from 1966 until 1969 by appointment of former President Lyndon B. Johnson. Mr. Vance is a lawyer who has taught at the University of North Dakota. He has also distinguished himself in government service.

The commission proposed an interesting solution. Today we would call it relocation. Almost all of the Indians in this country have been relocated at one time or another. But, the proposal of the Taylor Commission was to relocate all of the Indians in a large area east of the Rocky Mountains and have the group set up its own government to be funded with help from the federal government. Treaties of peace were to be signed and, as always, there were offers of education and an opportunity to join in the life of the nation in any way that the group chose.

The recommendations of the Peace Commission were not accepted, so President Johnson appointed Taylor the head of the BIA. Taylor spent a good part of his time simply fighting transfer of the authority of the BIA to the Army. Both the Indian and non-Indian presented carefully considered, innovative proposals. In light of what has occurred in the intervening years, what they proposed does not seem quite so outrageous as it might have at the time.

By 1890 a crushed people had been herded onto reservations. Between 1868 and the Wounded Knee Massacre of 1890, a hundred thousand Indians died. Death was not limited to the Indian's side. There were untold numbers of settlers who died. The savagery of the war on the plains cannot be adequately described. One-third of all the Indians who existed in 1868 died in twenty-two years. The horror of that loss in population is impossible to measure.

Treaties Ignored

More than 400 treaties which had been signed by various tribes had been largely ignored. The Dawes Act of 1887 was enacted when the Indians had trust lands numbering one hundred thirty million acres. The Dawes Act required each Indian to take an allotment of land and if he did not take that allotment of land within five years then the administrative authority could impose that allotment on him. Under the Dawes Act, between 1887 and 1933, just prior to the passage of the Wheeler-Howard Act or the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, the Indian lands had been reduced from one hundred thirty million acres to less than fifty million. Much of the land

"... this westward expanding country, this new nation, would not permit the Indian to reside on the land the way he had historically, the way his culture dictated."

that the Indian had lost was by then occupied by some settler to whom the land had been sold.

Congress commissioned the Meriam Report in 1926. The report was given to the Secretary of the Interior in 1928. The focus of the Meriam Report was a statement of fact that until the Indian claims were settled no viable program to give the Indian confidence in this nation, no viable programs to enable the Indian to choose his own life either in his traditional way or as a part of the continuing culture of his country as it existed, could ever be effected. Congress took this to heart and beginning in 1931 bills were proposed to create an Indian Court, to create an Indian Claims Commission. Each time (perhaps because of the depression) the bills would die.

The Indian Claims Commission

But, finally, in 1946 the Congress passed the Indian Claims Commission Act. The Act provided that a commission of three be appointed by the President and subject to confirmation by the United States Senate and that the commission inform all of the tribes in the various states and territories of its existence and of its availability as a forum for the Indian tribes, bands or identifiable groups. This was not a forum for any individual claims. The law provided further that the tribes, bands or identifiable groups should have until 1951 to file the claims at which point no further claims could be filed. The law provided that the Commission would have until 1956 to complete the hearings and the determination of the claims.

The Indian Claims Commission Act further provided that the Department of Justice in the Indian Claims Section would represent the government, the defendant, and that the Indian "may" hire an attorney, but the act did not say shall. Of the over 600 claims that were filed before the Commission, less than 20 did not have lawyers and at this point in history there are about 10 not covered by counsel.

Number of Claims a Shock

I think that the framers of the act and the Commissioners of the new Commission were shocked by the number of claims. They added up tribes and thought they might have one

or two hundred. The Commission was extended for five years in 1956. In 1966, Congress, in an effort to speed-up the work of the Commission, provided the appointment of two additional commissioners and extended the life of the Commission to 1972.

The Commission as of this date is over 60 percent through its docket. The Chairman, Jerome Kuykendall, has a proposal which indicates that in four years and four months from April, 1972, if the Commission is extended, it will be able to complete its work. I think that is an informed estimate and probably accurate. The Commission will expire as a matter of law as of April 10, 1972 if it is not extended. That does not mean the claims will expire. Any claims adjudicated at the time of expiration will be referred to the Court of Claims or somewhere else. The reason for the Commission in the first place was the length of time it took the Court of Claims to adjudicate the Indian's cases. So it would be an irony of government for the claims to revert to that tribunal.

In order for an Indian tribe prior to 1946 to have its claim heard before the government, that tribe had to go to Congress and get a special Jurisdictional Act passed by the Congress. The Congress would usually pass the act and authorize the claim. Often the Court of Claims would say to the tribe, "You have a very good claim but it is not within the framework of the specific Jurisdictional Act, so before we can hear it you will have to go back and get another act." Some of the claims were taking 40 to 60 years to adjudicate. I do not say this to defend the Indian Claims Commission, I am here to describe it not defend it, but the Indian Claims Commission will have completed over 60 percent of the claims filed before it in about 25 years. That is still too long in the spirit of the Meriam Report. Because in that quarter century, Indians who would have been the recipients and beneficiaries of the quickly adjudicated claims have died.

450 Million Dollars Appropriated

How much money has been appropriated by the Congress on the basis of the Indian Claims Commission Act? About 450 million dollars. How has that money been expended? Nobody



Arnold Chapman, John Vance, Art Einhorn, Larry Lazore

"With annuities from all the Indian land taken illegally in New York the Indian could finance his own school system, welfare program, and highway department. We would not be a burden to taxpayers and we wouldn't have to worry about state or federal funding."

knows. However, there are estimates. There are no records of it in the BIA, the Congress, or the Indian Claims Commission, and it is difficult to get individual tribes to be explicit. Actually it is nobody's business. The Indian Claims Commission was never able to grant land, only to compensate with money for the value of the land at the time it was taken. The remuneration was therefore very small by today's standards.

It seems to me constructive to find out what the effects have been. Many interesting things have been done with the funds — per capita payment, economic development, scholarships for higher education. I hope within the next year or so we will know more. There has to be a decision on whether or not the creation of something such as the Indian Claims Commission is the proper way to approach the problem.

As Americans, I do not think we have to make apologies to anyone for the Indian Claims Commission. It is the only time in the history of the world that a nation acknowledged a debt to the aboriginal people whose land the state had engulfed and taken away. It was the only time a forum was made to hear the complaints of the aggrieved. Whether it was enough is another question.

Jurisdiction of the Commission

The jurisdiction of the Commission is as follows. The Commission was told to hear and determine all claims against the United States on behalf of any tribe, band or any identifiable group of American Indians residing within the territorial limits of the United States or Alaska. The Court of Claims sustained the Commission when the Indian Claims Commission found that the Eskimo was, for the purposes of this act, an American Indian. The jurisdiction is for all claims, in law or equity, arising under the Constitution, laws or treaties and executive orders of the President of the United States. In addition, all claims upon which the tribes would have been entitled to sue the United States if the United States was subject to suit were permissible. It included all treaties,

agreements and contracts between the tribes and any situation where these contracts, agreements or treaties could have been revised on the basis of fraud, duress, unconscionable consideration, mutual or unilateral mistake or other equitable consideration. The Commission's jurisdiction finally extends to all claims which "are not recognized by any existing rule of law or record."

The legislation was signed into law by Harry Truman in April, 1946. He said he hoped with the final settlement of all the outstanding claims which this measure insured that the Indian could take his place without special handicap or special advantage in the economic life of our nation and share fully in its progress.

DISCUSSION

Ernie Benedict: This criteria of fair and honorable dealings apparently does not include the increase in the value of the land.

Vance: It does not. The Indian Claims Commission granted interest in a case and that case was argued all the way to the Supreme Court. All decisions of the Claims Commission are subject to the appeal process through the Court of Claims and then to the Supreme Court. The Commission was sustained all along the way. Then in a very brief time, the government asked for a rehearing of the case. The rehearing was granted and in oral argument the Solicitor General pointed out the amount of dollars involved with having interest on Claims Commission decisions. The Supreme Court, without comment, reversed itself. We are therefore not allowed to grant interest on anything except what is referred to as a fifth amendment taking. That is taking land that someone has fee title to. Most Indian claims deal with aboriginal title. Aboriginal title might be described as the title people have to land they use continuously but did not, in the eyes of the Anglo-Saxon lawyers, exercise the incidence of ownership the way an Englishman might. There is a tremendous clash of cultures.

Arliss Barss: I am interested in the equity of the return. You are known as the two-cents an acre club.

Vance: I don't defend it. The law we are held to is the market value of the land at the time it was taken.

Barss: You are using your own white standards back in 1700 or whenever the land grab took place. You are not really trying to rectify the wrong.

Vance: Congress gave the Commission broad powers. When the Commission exercised them and tried to pay interest the Supreme Court said we cannot do it. It is a clash of cultures.

Barss: What is the highest and the lowest price per acre the commission has paid and what is the average?

Vance: Although the compensations are not computed that way, I believe the highest price per acre was just under ten dollars and the lowest about forty-five cents.

Barss: What do you think about that as a human being, as a United States citizen?

Vance: I don't like it. But the Commission can only act within the law of the Indian Claims Commission Act. This is the first time in the history of the world that a people acknowledged any debt for acts which terminated the ownership of the people who were there originally. Has it worked perfectly? No. But there has been 450 million dollars paid out to Indians by the Congress in recognition of the wrongs of the past. Not enough perhaps, but 450 million dollars more than any one else ever gave.

Larry Lazore: Have they ever channelled their thinking down in Washington to consider a percentage of annuities to the tribe concerned for the continued use of what is really their land? That tribe could, in turn, take these annuities and become financially self-sufficient in regard to their education programs, their health programs and so on.

Vance: There was serious consideration by the Ash Commission on Reorganization of the Government concerning a continuing trust fund that would provide an annuity. If you think about it, it is a concept not far divorced from Taylor's idea back in 1867.

Lazore: As you said before, until the settlement of the treaty status of the Indian with respect to his land you will see no development for the Indian people. I think the tribes concerned could receive an annuity, in other words, it is still their land, they aren't living on it but it is still working for them, and it is supplying sustenance for them to take care of their own. I think you'll begin to see a different type of Indian because we won't have to depend on the federal government or the states for our programs. I think this is more of a solution than giving Indians a flat sum because it hasn't worked.

Robert Simpson: The cases such as Blue Lake where the land was actually returned, these were not Claims Commission cases were they?

Vance: Originally they were. The Taos Blue Lake Indians filed their claim with the Commission. Then they said they would like to separate the Blue Lake issue from the claim and take it to Congress to try to get the land returned instead. The Commission entered an order removing Blue Lake from the

claim. It then went to Congress and in a matter of two years Blue Lake was returned to the Indians.

Christine Tibbits: With what government agency does an Indian file a claim today?

Vance: If an Indian has a claim today he can go to the Court of Claims as an individual or as a tribe in the same manner as a foreign government or community can.

Leo Nolan: How many of the lawyers and staff are Indian?

Vance: On the Commission itself there are five commissioners, one of which is an Indian appointed by President Nixon. There are three Indian lawyers on the staff. It is difficult to employ an Indian lawyer today because they are so much in demand.

Mary Simpson: When a claimant appears before you, are there any funds available for legal representation or does the party have to rely on his own resources?

Vance: They operate on what we term a contingent fee basis. There is good representation available because the lawyer gets ten percent of the recovery of the trial. Indians, of their 450 million dollars in compensation, have paid about 40 million dollars in fees and expenses.

There is a loan fund that does not cost the tribe any money. It is a million dollar fund from which the Indians can borrow to process the claim. Only if the claim is successful will they have to pay the money back. I think they are getting very good representation.

Barss: There are cases where land has been bought from the Indian at a cheaper rate than is paid the white man even in instances where the properties are adjacent.

Vance: Most of the land after the Dawes Act was bought by non-Indians and sold by individual Indians. They should not have sold it. Some land was obtained by fraud. Considerable amounts of land, particularly in Montana, have been sold by the Indians in a completely free sale with no deceit involved. On the other hand, when we appoint a trustee and he says you cannot sell it because you are not getting a fair price for it, then people say we are interfering with the Indian's right to sell his land, we are being paternalistic. It is a complicated process. I am not pleased with the history of this country regarding its treatment of any minority.

Arnold Chapman: The majority of dams built in the last several years by the federal government have taken away Indian land with no apparent mutually agreeable settlement arrived at. The St. Lawrence Seaway was conveniently built where the Indians used to live. I wanted to know why the federal government continues to take the Indian land instead of the white man's land? Why is the Indian continually paid a price for the land which is less than what the white man receives for his land? A good example there is the land acquired from the Tuscaroras for a reservoir at a lower price than the State University of Buffalo got for adjacent lands. And, why isn't any land ever returned to the Indian rather than just a few cents an acre?

Vance: I am not familiar with the situation at Tuscarora and the University of Buffalo. If that has occurred, and I accept it has, then it is a terrible miscarriage of justice. The law enacting the Indian Claims Commission rather narrowly defines what the Claims Commission can and cannot do. The Commission

can make findings. The federal government, the state government and in some cases the city government can, in fact, take land from anybody by eminent domain. If you are on the side from which the property was appropriated, almost without exception you have a strong feeling that the price paid for the land was not an equivalent to its value. If the federal government is taking land from the Indian and paying less for it than it takes from a non-Indian entity, that could be ascribed to two things. One, there is a sickness in that local community or, two, there is inadequate representation.

The land is not going to be given back. Blue Lake is an exception. There is litigation throughout the west. But land taken prior to 1920 I do not believe is going to be given back. It's too complicated.

Chapman: You seem to be putting the Indian on the same basis as the white man and we don't consider the Indian community that way. An example of this could be to exempt the Indian people from eminent domain.

Lyman Pierce: What kind of authority do you have, what kind of recommendations can you make to Congress and how much are you listened to?

Vance: The Indian Claims Commission is a very special tribunal. It has nothing to do with Indian policy. It has nothing to do with making recommendations on Indian policy. The primary responsibility for policy making comes from the Department of the Interior and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In this connection, I would say the proper approach to the problem would be through the BIA. For the first time, I see prospects for change in the BIA. A large group of Indians have been given high administrative posts in the bureau. Tribes are being given money to handle their own affairs. We now have the proposed Indian Education Commission. All of these things indicate to me that we are ready to change directions.

Pierce: The issue for the Claims Commission is the land. Indians value land rather than money and I don't think the United States government is listening to this. Why do your guidelines assume that repayment should be made in money rather than land?

Vance: That is stated specifically in the law.

Pierce: Would your commission, Congress or the United States government listen to international law in this respect if it was argued that you are not, in fact, practicing justice but are really extending the issue? I don't think justice is being done.

Vance: I cannot say. I don't think it would ever get to the Hague. If it did, they would not issue any decisive directive. The World Court, for many reasons, is not a perfect forum.

The Indian Claims Commission is bound by the law which Congress enacted. The Commission can compensate the Indians for lost lands and treaty violations in money only. It is a clear charge in the law. Congress probably considered these issues when the law was passed in 1946 and decided they were not going to give back any land.

Pierce: Why can't a suggestion be made to keep the Indian land intact now? This would be an initial start. I think your commission could make a recommendation.

Vance: When the Commission completes its task I think it would be a good idea for the Commission to analyze the effect

of its work and the alternatives that might have been considered in preparing for the problems of the future. The Commission was hired by Congress, however, to adjudicate claims and pay money damages.

Art Einhorn: If I were to compare the United States to Brazil I would say the U.S. has made a better effort to cleanse its conscience and be fair. There are degrees of being fair. Obviously, we can see the inadequacies of our Indian Claims Commission but at the same time its existence has accomplished something. But there are Indian claims that can be justifiably pushed through to conclusion. There is no reason why land, in specific cases in New York State, that is not being used can't be returned to the claimants.

Vance: There is no good reason for not returning the land. I think because of tribalism (in many cases imposed by the government — the Sioux are a good example) this might be very difficult. An ideal would be to take most of some state and say that this is going to be an Indian state.

Pierce: There is considerable concern for giving the Indian his day in court. I still don't believe he's getting it.

Vance: Generally speaking, I agree with you. However, it seems to me the Indian is being heard with more receptivity and the Indian spokesman is speaking more eloquently than he has in a hundred years. I think a hundred years ago the Indian was "under control". His numbers were reduced but he was still an active participant in fighting the onrush of the civilization that was trying to engulf him. It is to the credit of the Indian people that they were not engulfed. They have maintained an identity.

The Indian who resided here first is just a minority group like everyone else. The only way you operate in this system is with political clout, economic power, and by infiltrating the professions. No minority group has reached its proper place until it began to use the structures of the country, particularly the professions. Things are looking better for the Indian today than they were three years ago.

Robert Wells: One problem that Indians in the Eastern United States face is the inadequate legal defense that is available. Because of their significant numbers, the California, New Mexico and Arizona Indians have an OEO legal assistance group on the reservations at the invitation of the tribal councils. With particular reference to the Navajo situation, the OEO lawyers were winning 86 percent of the cases for the Indians. Some of these were in opposition to tribal policy. For instance, there was a suit against the city of Phoenix because it was using water coming from a source on the Navajo reservation and paying only \$50,000 a year. Individual Indians brought suit against the tribal council to enjoin them from selling this water.

The Indian law in New York State is McKenney's 25. It is outdated and the Indian community has indicated the changes they would like to make. They don't have readily available legal assistance to fight for these changes and they don't have the funds to launch a case of their own. Some communities have gone the OEO route, but as you know, there has been an amendment to the act which permits the governor of a state to veto the funds for legal assistance. For instance, Reagan is in the process of cutting out the entire legal assistance program in California because it has been so successful.

A Conversation With Medicine and Thomas;

Education and Identity in Native Studies

(Continued from page 67)

identity mechanism for many students. Today you get a lot of volunteer Indians. You will find that many white people with an Indian ancestor will try to become or claim that they are Indian. In any community you will get people who are tribal Indians, urban Indians, and those with Indian ancestors who will try to become legal Indians.

Medicine: Another feature about Indians is that those Indians born in urban sections are not usually on tribal roles because of the decisions made by the tribal council. It has been this way since the 1950's.

The key in curriculum constructions would be not only that it has to be flexible, but it also has to be based on the student interest and how they see themselves in all the dimensions that Bob has spelled out for you. In South Dakota the main concern is with the people. I would suggest that each university look to the people that they are trying to serve.

Phillip Tarbell: What is your opinion of the conferred degree in Indian studies versus the more standard type of program where there is a mixture of electives in Indian studies and the usual white curriculum?

Medicine: I prefer the latter in terms of what the tribal people think. Many parents on the reservation think, "What is my child doing in Native studies? He should know about this. What's he going to do if he gets a degree in it?" This is a critical point because many of the universities are trying to establish Masters and Doctoral degrees in Native studies. These programs have been offered at the Universities of Montana and South Dakota. They are really not significant to the Native students because they believe they can take this and get a degree in something else so that they can get a job. The great search for Indians to be employed at colleges and universities is not going to go on forever. Many Native American students want to go back and work among their own people and they will find that it isn't going to be easy to do; but you can't tell them or convince them of that at this point either.

Ernie Benedict: I would suggest that an American Indian Study program should qualify the youth to be a teacher and still give a degree in the Native studies. All we can do is hope that they will stay with this and eventually teach others of the culture and history.

Thomas: I'd like to see some combination Indian studies-education degree. A student would therefore always have that backstop of a professional degree to go along with the Native studies.

Medicine: This year all the state colleges and the third world colleges are having their appropriations cut back. It has been three years since this movement began and the trend is now to

cut back on these programs, the funding that supports them and the student's scholarships such as EOP.

Ernie Krag: These courses are really beneficial to white students, too. I would like to see these courses set up so that whites can learn and be informed about Indians also.

Medicine: Especially if the courses are directed to contemporary Indian problems.

Larry Lazore: I think that the American Indian study program is very good for the urban Indian student. I think it is bad for the reservation student because he will go back to his people and will be telling the older people about themselves.

Medicine: We find that many of the students will be in conflict with the older people of the tribe. I know that many of the people from the tribe resent my going out and teaching urban Indians to be Indians. The people on the reservations and the pueblos view this differently than the urban people do.

Art Einhorn: Bea, what do you think the reason or rationale behind this resentment is?

Medicine: A friend told me that he didn't think I should be wasting my time teaching urban people about my life styles. The old people feel that their children who were brought up on the reservation in a tribal setting know enough about tribal life that they should not have to be told by someone else who might not have been brought up with this background. The older people feel that if the young go to college they should learn some kind of skill so that they can get a job whether they go back to help their people or not. Many of the tribal scholarships have no stipulation as to where the person can work.

Thomas: I find that city Indians would rather try to learn about the Indian objectively and impersonally and try to impersonate the real Indian. The urban Indian would rather learn from the school than from the old people. I find that many of the Indian young are very impatient. They think that their wisdom should come in a package.

Medicine: "Instant traditionalism" is the term I have employed in my writing for defining this situation.

Thomas: I think that you can learn a lot of content in the Indian study program. And that is a good thing. But ultimately you are going to have to talk and live with the older people. No university can deliver a whole understanding of the lifeways of the Indian or the white man for that matter. What we do at the university is present objective and impersonal content. I'm not downgrading that, there is a place for it.

Robert Simpson: I find that many young people learn of their culture from television instead of listening to their grandparents who know more and could teach them more. We do

not respect the old people. We do not live side by side with the old people anymore in contemporary society.

Medicine: At this last meeting of the Ecumenical Conference, a resolution was passed which stated that Indian studies programs should utilize older people from the local area who didn't have degrees. This is one way to use this resource of wisdom. This way you have a model that can help explain these things and make them more meaningful. Then again, you run into the bureaucratic problem that you have to have a degree to get a job in a university.

Einhorn: We are so over-conscious about degree requirements. Maybe tribal councils could issue degrees according to competency to accredit highly qualified individuals.

Medicine: This would be very difficult to do. Many of the people on the tribal council would not be qualified to judge a person or know the traditions of their group in some instances. Usually, if you know an Indian group well, you will know who the traditional leaders are and these people could be brought in to talk to the students. These people should not be pressured to do this but if they want to do this, that's fine.

Chris Tibbits: This still perpetuates the old idea, this myth, that a piece of paper makes someone qualified. We must cut across these old stereotypes of competency.

Einhorn: How do you get around the onus of these people being merely consultants for just short-term interactions? These people can't put across their ideas on a day-by-day basis. I think it has to be sustained over a long period of time.

Thomas: The University of California at Davis asked me to be on the staff of their Indian studies program. I told them that instead of having another academic, after all, who needs them, it would be better to set up a visiting professorship and ask older people to come and maybe stay in the dorm and let them be a lecturer-at-large and talk informally with the students. Maybe bring a couple at a time so that they would have some company.

The University of Missouri asked me if I would come as a visiting professor. They were in a bind because they couldn't find any visiting professors. I thought to myself, here's my opportunity. I suggested that the steering committee of the Indian Ecumenical Conference would arrange to have a series of older people as visiting lecturers. They could have had all these true experts for no more than it would cost for my salary for a year. The Dean said it would be very hard to arrange with the administration. I said that it wouldn't be as hard as not having anyone. It turned out that they would rather not have anybody than go through the bureaucracy that they no longer have any control over.

TRIBE - Teaching Students to Think Indian

(Continued from page 69)

Fred Burt: Do you have an elected or appointed representative in the Maine legislature?

Ranco: Neither. We are considered half citizens. We are allowed to vote in all elections but we are not allowed to vote for an Indian representative. We can't hold office. We have token representation. We worked for forty years to get our Indian representative inside the council of representatives, now we are trying to get him the right to vote.

Mitchell: Basically, he's just a lobbyist.

Ranco: We had a bill in the legislature to grant our representative the full rights of any legislator but this was turned down. Our representative is not allowed to talk on any bill that comes up. We had an education bill but we were told it had no white support. Originally, the University of Maine established five Indian scholarships to ease the feelings of the Indians and minimize any treaty violations in building the university on Indian land. They figured there would never be five Indians going to college. Last year they received twenty-seven applications from Indians. Now they are struggling to meet the needs of the Indian people now that they have made a commitment. This is why Indians are pushing for a scholarship bill in the State of Maine.

Jack Frisch: Perhaps most people are unaware of how the Indian Affairs branch of the government in Canada is structured. Ottawa controls such things as tribal band funds

and through these levers can apply pressure on different tribes.

Ranco: This involvement with the purse strings occurred this summer. We were going to begin an adult education program in TRIBE. We had one-third of the money coming from one foundation. The Office of Education in the United States said they would supply the other third if the Canadian side would do likewise. But they wanted assurances from the Canadian government that they would also contribute before they would allocate any money to our program. The BIA in Canada kept stalling, making us go to one hearing after another in Ottawa and then making us go to hearings at regional offices. Finally, they told us they couldn't help us. So we lost the U.S. money and we couldn't run the program on one-third of the funding necessary.

We have a long way to go before the Indians, themselves, control education in our area. The State of Maine Indians are not under the federal government, we are not a BIA state, we are controlled by the State of Maine. Maine is economically poor, so you can see where we stand in our fight to improve ourselves in education.

Rose Jochowitz: This is a form of unity amongst the different tribes of the Maritime provinces.

Ranco: This is probably the first time these four tribes, the Malecite, Micmac, Passamaquoddy and Penobscot, have ever gotten together. They are usually divided, both by the border and by different ideas.

A Quick Glimpse...

To develop a sensitivity to the American Indian in the three short weeks of the institute, several approaches were used to present the many dimensions of the Native American to the participating educators. Lectures given by both the program staff and guest consultants, discussions, workshops, field trips, and films comprised the scheduled methods by which the participants were given, in broad strokes, knowledge of the Indian life styles. The finer detail was added in person-to-person interaction, use of the library reference materials, and over a card game in the lounge or a beer at the local tavern.

Sessions during the first week introduced the participants to the subject and to one another. Exposure to carefully qualified "typical" Indian histories, cultures and characteristics was accomplished through ethnographies of representative Native American groups. Before the first week was completed, the participants, the Indians among them in the forefront, were closely questioning discussion leaders and their assertions. By taking to heart the admonition to be wary of generalized Indian stereotypes, the search for and the discovery of a more accurate picture of the Indian was

realized.

Each day of the second week was devoted to an intensive study of one of the five specialty areas of the college officials. Recruitment and admissions, financial aids, counseling, and curriculum (both content and developmental) were examined in-depth and applied specifically to the Indian student against the background orientation of the previous week. Specialists in each field contributed their expertise to the institute.

The evening routine of film viewing was altered to include dinner and a meeting with the Parents' Education Committee at the St. Regis Reservation School on Tuesday night. Standing Arrow mixed education and entertainment in an evening presentation on Wednesday.

The third week can be capsulized as fast paced. Participants met in workshop committees to formulate their reports and recommendations. Tuesday, the committee work was interrupted to allow the participants to gain more first hand information. There were two field trip groups. One group visited Ray Fadden's Indian Museum at Onchiota. The second group toured the Onondaga Reservation with Chief Irving Powless and Lloyd Elm as their hosts. They were shown the Lafay-



Standing Arrow displaying a Condolence Cane.

ette Central School and several other points of interest on the reservation. The entourage feasted at the Longhouse after an in-depth discussion with Powless, Elm, and Tadodaho, Presiding Chief Lord of the Six Nations Confederacy. At Onchiota, the other group was exposed to examples of Indian technical skill, arts, and crafts. Ray Fadden also gave a talk which provided insight into the history and the culture of the Iroquois.

The week closed with further workshop meetings and the culmination of three weeks of listening, learning, and understanding — the presentation of the committee reports to the institute for discussion and evaluation.

Dinner at the St. Regis Mohawk School.



College Assistance

The Indian student should no longer consider gaining admittance to institutions of higher education a goal beyond his grasp. A significant number of institutions are actively courting the Indian. Many philanthropic organizations are now making financial assistance available. Listed below are colleges and universities which have demonstrated interest in the Indian student. Applicants are reminded that this list is limited and that all schools under consideration should be examined thoroughly and visited, if possible. The financial aids office at each school should be contacted for scholarship information. *Scholarships For American Indian Youth* (obtainable from the Bureau of Indian Affairs) and *Financing Equal Opportunity in Higher Education* (obtainable from the College Scholarship Service, Princeton, New Jersey, @\$1.00) are the best guides to outside agencies interested in funding Indian education. No comprehensive guide is yet available. Personal investigation among Indian groups, philanthropic organizations and governmental agencies may reveal further sources.

Adams State College
Alamosa, Colorado
Alegheny College
Meadville, Pennsylvania
Alfred University
Alfred, New York
Antioch College
Yellow Springs, Ohio
Arizona State University
Tempe, Arizona
Bacone College
Muskegee, Oklahoma
Bard College
Annandale, New York
Beloit College
Beloit, Wisconsin
Baldwin Wallace College
Berea, Ohio
Black Hills State College
Spearfish, South Dakota
Boston College
Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts
Brigham Young College
Salt Lake City, Utah
Brown University
Providence, Rhode Island
Bryn Mawr College
Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania
Bucknell University
Lewisburg, Pennsylvania
Carleton College
Northfield, Minnesota
Central Washington State College
Ellensburg, Washington
Clarkson College of Technology
Potsdam, New York
Colgate College
Hamilton, New York
Colorado State College
Greely, Colorado
Connecticut College
New London, Connecticut
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York
Dartmouth College
Hanover, New Hampshire
Defiance College
Defiance, Ohio
Deganawidah-Quetzalcoatl University
Davis, California
Denison University
Granville, Ohio
Dickinson College
Carlisle, Pennsylvania
Drexel Institute of Technology
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Eastern Oklahoma State College
Wilburton, Oklahoma
Elmira College
Elmira, New York

College of Emporia
Emporia, Kansas
Fairleigh Dickinson University
Rutherford, New Jersey
Fort Lewis A & M
Durango, Colorado
George Washington University
Washington, D.C.
Grinnell College
Grinnell, Iowa
Hamilton College
Clinton, New York
Hartwick College
Oneonta, New York
Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts
Haskell Institute
Lawrence, Kansas
Haverford College
Haverford, Pennsylvania
Hiram College
Hiram, Ohio
Hobart College
Geneva, New York
Hofstra University
Hempstead, New York
Huron College
Huron, South Dakota
Illinois College
Jacksonville, Illinois
Ithaca College
Ithaca, New York
Kendall College
Evanston, Illinois
Keuka College
Keuka Park, New York
Lafayette College
Easton, Pennsylvania
Lincoln University
Lincoln, Pennsylvania
Marquette University
Milwaukee, Wisconsin
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Cambridge, Massachusetts
Miami-Dade Junior College
Miami, Florida
Mount Holyoke College
South Hadley, Massachusetts
Navajo Community College
Navajo Nation, Arizona
New Mexico Highlands University
Las Vegas, New Mexico
New Mexico State University
Las Cruces, New Mexico
New York University
New York, New York
North Carolina State University
Raleigh, North Carolina
Northeastern Illinois College
Chicago, Illinois

Northeastern Oklahoma A & M
Miami, Oklahoma
Northeastern State College
Tahlequah, Oklahoma
Northern Arizona University
Flagstaff, Arizona
Northern State College
Aberdeen, South Dakota
Northrup Institute of Technology
Inglewood, California
Ohio State University
Columbus, Ohio
Ohio Wesleyan University
Delaware, Ohio
Oklahoma College of Liberal Arts
Chickasha, Oklahoma
Oklahoma State University
Stillwater, Oklahoma
Pembroke State College
Pembroke, North Carolina
Pratt Institute
Brooklyn, New York
Prescott College
Prescott, Arizona
Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey
Radcliffe College
Cambridge, Massachusetts
Reed College
Portland, Oregon
Regis College
Denver, Colorado
Rochester Institute of Technology
Rochester, New York
St. John's College
Santa Fe, New Mexico
St. Lawrence University
Canton, New York
San Bernadino
San Bernadino, California
San Francisco State College
San Francisco, California
San Jacinto
Pasadena, Texas
San Joaquin
Stockton, California
Southeastern State College
Durant, Oklahoma
Springfield College
Springfield, Massachusetts
Syracuse University
Syracuse, New York
Texas A & M
College Station, Texas
Tufts College
Boston, Massachusetts
The Universities of:
Arizona
Tucson, Arizona

California
Los Angeles, Davis or
Berkeley, California
Chicago
Chicago, Illinois
Colorado
Boulder, Colorado
Connecticut
Storrs, Connecticut
Kansas
Kansas City, Missouri
Maine
Orono, Maine
Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan
Minnesota
Minneapolis, Minnesota
New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico
New York
Albany, New York
North Dakota
Grand Forks, North Dakota
Oklahoma
Norman, Oklahoma
Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
Rochester
Rochester, New York
Southern California
Los Angeles, California
Utah
Salt Lake City, Utah
Washington
Seattle, Washington
Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin
Washburn College
Topeka, Kansas
Washington College
Chestertown, Maryland
Weber State College
Ogden, Utah
Wesleyan University
Middletown, Connecticut
Western College
Oxford, Ohio
Western State College
Gunnison, Colorado
Whitman College
Walla Walla, Washington
William and Mary College
Williamsburg, Virginia
Wilmington College
Wilmington, Ohio

Films

The following films were viewed at the institute:

The Ballad of Crowfoot
The Caribou Hunter
Circle of the Sun
The End of the Trail
The Exiles
The Forgotten American
How the West Was Won and Honor Lost
The Indian Speaks
Ishi of Two Worlds
Lament of the Reservation
Longhouse People
The Pride and the Shame
The Quillayute Story
Treaties Made, Treaties Broken
The Valley of the Standing Rocks
Way of the Navajo

There are countless numbers of films on the Indian available. It is recommended that all films be previewed before being shown to the

general audience. Below are several organizations which can supply further lists of films available for rental.

American Broadcasting Co.
1330 Avenue of the Americas
New York, New York 10036
Barbre Productions, Inc.
2130 South Bellaire St.
Denver, Colorado 80222
Carousel Films, Inc.
1501 Broadway
New York, New York 10036
Contemporary Films
267 West 25th St.
New York, New York
Film Associates of California
11014 Santa Monica Blvd.
Los Angeles, California

Film Service Center
Bureau of Indian Affairs
Brigham City, Utah
Genesis Films
972 Wilshire Blvd.
Beverly Hills, California
McGraw-Hill Films
Princeton Rd.
Hightstown, New Jersey 08520
Museum of the American Indian
Broadway & 155th St.
New York, New York
Stewardship Council
Office of Visual Aids
United Church of Christ
1505 Race St.
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Time-Life Films
43 West 16th St.
New York, New York 10011

Selected Indian Periodicals

This list is by no means exhaustive.

Akwesasne Notes (Monthly)
Rooseveltown, New York 13683
Subscription by Donation
Americans Before Columbus
National Indian Youth Council
3102 Central S.E.
Albuquerque, New Mexico 87106
American Indian Horizon
PO Box 18
Church Street Station
New York, New York
The Amerindian (Bi-monthly)
1263 West Pratt Blvd.
Chicago, Illinois
Subscription \$3.00
Dine Baa-Hani (Bi-weekly)
PO Box 527
Navajo Nation 86504
El Grito Del Norte
Route 2, Box 5
Espanola, New Mexico 87532
The First Citizen
PO Box 760
Terminal A
Vancouver 1, British Columbia
Canada
Hopi Action News
Winslow Mail
Winslow, Arizona

The Indian (Monthly)
Route 3, Box 9
Rapid City, South Dakota
Subscription \$3.00
The Indian Historian
1451 Masonic Ave.
San Francisco, California
Subscription \$5.00
The Indian News (Monthly)
Department of Indian Affairs
Ottawa, Ontario
Canada
Subscription free
The Indian Times (Monthly)
PO Box 4131 Santa Fe Station
Denver, Colorado
Kanawake News (Monthly)
Box 424
Caughnawaga, Quebec
Canada
Subscription \$2.00
Kinzua Planning Newsletter
Seneca Nation
Box 231
Salamanca, New York
Longhouse News (Monthly)
c/o Chief Peter Diome
PO Box 362
Caughnawaga, Quebec
Canada
Subscription \$2.00

Maine Indian Newsletter (Monthly)
42 Liberty St.
Gardiner, Maine
Subscription \$2.00
National American Indian Magazine (Quarterly)
PO Box 5895
Reno, Nevada 89503
The Native People (Monthly)
100 Avenue Building Room B1
100 Avenue & 104 St.
Edmonton, Alberta
Canada
The Navajo Times
Dick Hardwick, Editor
Window Rock, Arizona
The New Breed (Monthly)
525 24th St. East
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan
Canada
Rosebud Sioux Herald (Eyapaha)
Box 65
Rosebud, South Dakota 57570
Subscription \$9.00
Tundra Times
Box 1287
Fairbanks, Alaska 99701
The Warpath (Monthly)
United Native Americans, Inc.
PO Box 26149
San Francisco, California 94126

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St. Lawrence University

St. Lawrence University has become actively involved in providing assistance to local area Indians, particularly the St. Regis Mohawks, during the last three years. This institute on "The American Indian Student in Higher Education" and the second annual Iroquois Indian Conference were both convened on the St. Lawrence campus this summer to enable the Indian community to set long-range goals on a regional basis.

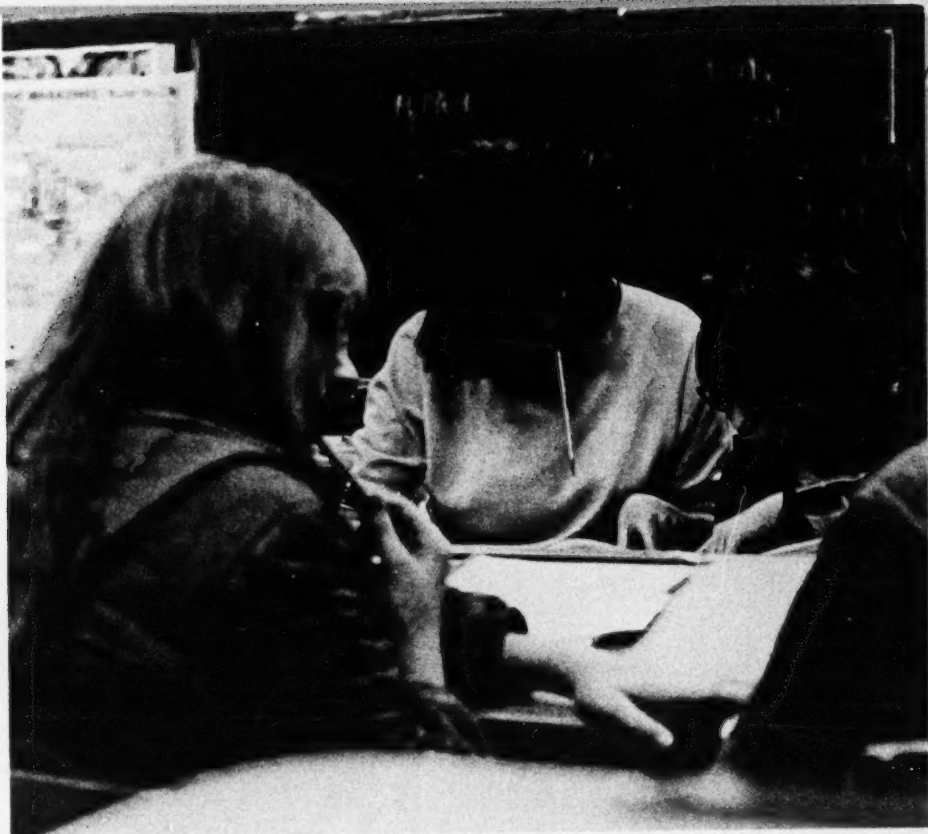
However, the primary thrust of the university's efforts to "help the Indians help themselves" has been *Operation Kanyengehaga* at the St. Regis Mohawk Reservation. (*Kanyengehaga* is the Mohawk designation for their people, "the people of the place of the flint.") Started in 1969 at the request of concerned parents on the St. Regis Parents' Education Committee, *Operation Kanyengehaga* fulfills the immediate need for tutorial services. Tutoring in a wide range of subjects is provided for any Indian student who desires help with his school work. St. Lawrence students coordinate arrangements on the campus while members of the education committee direct the program.

The tutoring project was supplemented this summer with a federally funded "Upward Bound" program. Thirty-three of the forty-five students enrolled were Mohawk Indians. In addition to the six week summer session, the students will receive continued assistance during the regular school year with college admissions and academic preparation.

In a directly related effort, St. Lawrence has been instrumental in the organization of fund-raising activities for the Akwesasne Library-Cultural Center on the reservation. Speaking engagements, benefit dinners, athletic events and church collections have been the basic means by which funds for the library, now open less than one year after the ground breaking, were obtained. The North American Indian Traveling College conducted by Ernest Benedict shares the benefits of the fund-raising and book collection drives which the students organize. Both of these projects serve practical needs while fostering a healthy educational environment and encouraging more advanced study within the Indian community.

Mr. Joseph White of the St. Regis Reservation is currently attending St. Lawrence to refine a Mohawk language course. Mr. White formulated the curriculum after soliciting suggestions from individuals on the reservation. He began teaching his program last year at the Salmon River school.

Using the Library-Cultural Center as a nucleus, the leadership of the St. Regis Reservation has outlined future plans for the establishment of a medical center, a bank and the extension of educational opportunities to include adult and



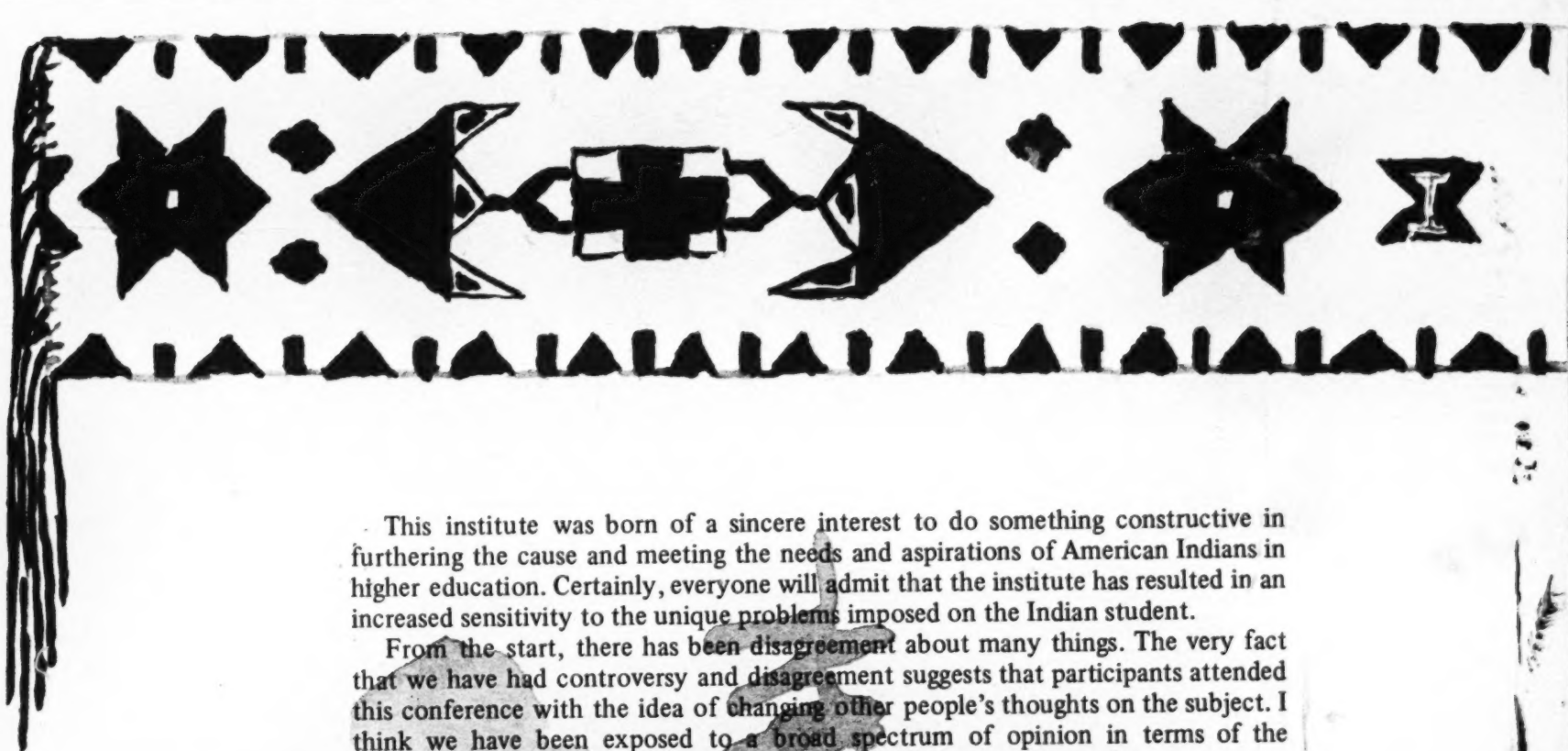
When the Mohawks blockaded the bridge to Canada in protest of treaty right violations, St. Lawrence discovered that they had an Indian reservation right near their college. Word was sent through Ernie Benedict, a St. Lawrence graduate, to find out what the university might do to aid us. This was a switch. Usually, people tell us what is good for Indians. We held a tribal meeting and the parents decided that we could use tutoring for the children. This is how the tutorial program came about.
Minerva White

continuing education. St. Lawrence will continue to assist the Indian community in attaining their objectives.

The St. Regis Mohawk community and St. Lawrence University wish to express their sincere gratitude for the generous gifts and assistance received from numerous interested foundations, corporations, civic groups and individuals. These unselfish gestures of friendship, coupled with government support through the Office of Economic Opportunity and other agencies, have enabled the St. Regis Reservation to make the initial steps toward the realization of their ambitious objectives of community improvement through education.

Several grants awarded to St. Lawrence have proved invaluable in the enrichment of educational opportunities offered at the university. Further curricular development is proceeding under the auspices of such gifts while a series of guest lecturers and displays of Indian artifacts made possible through foundation sponsorship have augmented the courses presently taught by Dr. Robert N. Wells.

These gifts, particularly those from the local community, have given birth to a highly productive interaction creating a growing relationship of understanding and appreciation between the North Country and Indian communities. With continued philanthropic support, the Indian community will be able to affirm their historical and cultural contributions to a diverse civilization. The Indian's knowledge of himself and the ability to live with minimal difficulty in two societies can only strengthen the bonds of this growing relationship.



This institute was born of a sincere interest to do something constructive in furthering the cause and meeting the needs and aspirations of American Indians in higher education. Certainly, everyone will admit that the institute has resulted in an increased sensitivity to the unique problems imposed on the Indian student.

From the start, there has been disagreement about many things. The very fact that we have had controversy and disagreement suggests that participants attended this conference with the idea of changing other people's thoughts on the subject. I think we have been exposed to a broad spectrum of opinion in terms of the participants, tribal leaders, consultants and resource people gathered here.

The many ideas and suggestions that have been put forward and the many recommendations formulated in the workshops will be useful not only for the counselors, admissions and financial officers and faculty, but hopefully, this report will also serve the tribal leaders and education committees as a reference aid in solving specific problems for the many Indian students yet to come.

Arthur Einhorn

Assistant Director

Excerpts from the concluding remarks

